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ABSTRACT

Aspects of intercultural educational activity, research on learning, and implications for educational interchange, and case studies of the application of ideas from the intercultural communication field to work in international educational interchange are addressed in nine papers. Contents include: "Dynamics of Cross-cultural Adjustment: from Pre-arrival to Re-entry" (Stephen Foust, chapter editor, with John Pieg, Jolene Koester, Lawrence Sarbaugh, and Larry Wendinger); "Cross-cultural Counseling" (David Horner and Kay Vandersluis, chapter co-editors, with A. A. Alexander, Husain Bashey, Clifford Clarke, and Dennis Peterson); "English Language Teaching from an Intercultural Perspective" (Stephen Dunnett, chapter editor, with Fraida Dubin and Amy Lezberg); "Cross-cultural Training" (Margaret Pusch, chapter editor, with Alexander Patico, George Renwick, and Carol Saltzman); "Communication and Problem-solving across Cultures" (Felipe Korzenny); "Selected Learning Concepts and Theories" (Josef Mestenhauser); "Learning Styles" (Richard Brislin); "Learning Cross-culturally: The Case Study of Management" (Robert Moran); and "Foreign Students as Teachers: Lessons from the Program in Learning with Foreign Students" (Josef Mestenhauser). Suggestions for people who work with students or scholars who are outside their own countries are offered, and implications of research for people who design or conduct programs for foreign students and scholars are considered. A brief annotated bibliography and references for each chapter are included. (SW)

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Learning across cultures

intercultural communication and international educational exchange

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Editor: Gary Althen
Chapter editors:
Stephen Dunnett
Stephen Foust
David Horner
Josef Mestenhauser
Margaret Pusch
Kay Vandersluis

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The basic idea was Josef Mestenhauser's. He suggested to the members of the Committee on Intercultural Communication (of NAFSA's Council of Advisers to Foreign Students and Scholars) that a group of experts be brought together to compile a publication such as this one. The members of that committee then proceeded to write a proposal for financial support for this undertaking. Members of the Committee on Intercultural Communication at that time were: Jon Booth, Stephen Dunnett, David Horner, Joe Mestenhauser, Ralph Morrison and Margaret ("Peggy") Pusch. Gary Althen was chairman of the committee.

As the project developed, there were some changes in the membership of the committee. Editors and co-editors of the various chapters of this publication also were the committee members who recruited participants for the colloquium at Wingspread, organized the work of those participants, and structured their respective chapters.

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While all of these people have been involved in this project, any errors of ommission or commission are my responsibility.

—Gary Althen
Iowa City, Ia.

Introduction

This publication is for the use of anyone who works with students or scholars involved in international educational exchange. Its purpose is to bring together ideas that the field of intercultural communication has produced and that appear to have value in the day-to-day work of people involved in educational interchange. Many of these ideas are presented here, usually in summary form, along with citations that will help interested readers find more information and ideas elsewhere.

The term "intercultural communiction" has been defined in many ways. A broad definition suits the purposes of this book. "Intercultural communication" takes place when people of different cultures attribute meaning to each other's behavior. The result can be misunderstanding, misjudgment, and difficulty; it also can be enlightenment. Readers of this book are presumably people who want to reduce the amount of misunderstanding and misjudgment that results from interaction between people who have different cultural backgrounds, and to increase the amount of enlightenment that arises from intercultural encounters.

The term "intercultural communication" began to be used in the educational interchange field around 1965, when a variety of attempts were made to apply "human relations training" techniques to work with foreign students and visitors in the United States and with U.S. students going abroad. The impetus for these attempts was dissatisfaction with the programs then being offered to most foreign visitors during their stays in the host country. Those programs usually focussed on the history and manners of the host population. The human relations training movement inspired the notion that programs for foreign visitors could be more interesting and valuable if they dealt more with the psychological dynamics of the participants' own intercultural experience, and with the learning potential inherent in those experiences.

Since the 1960's, there has been a remarkable growth in the number and nature of activities that fall under the rubric of "intercultural communication." Research, teaching, workshops, conferences, monographs, books and professional associations have been devoted to the topic. People in educational interchange, education, government and business have come to recognize the usefulness of concepts and practices spawned by the field of intercultural communication.

There has been such an outpouring of printed material about intercultural communication that only scholars in the field can be expected to keep up with it—if it is indeed possible even for them to locate, read and digest it all. Practitioners in international educational interchange typically have so many responsibilities that they have too little time to read even a small portion of the intercultural communication literature

that they might find useful. Even if they do set out to read it, they find that much of it exists in so-called "fugitive" form, and is difficult to obtain.

The contributors to this publication believe that the field of intercultural communication offers educational interchange practitioners a useful approach to planning and conducting their training and orientation programs, writing informational and educational materials for their clients, interacting constructively with their clients, and pursuing their own intellectual development. Both newcomers and experienced people in the educational interchange field can expect to find interesting and useful ideas in these pages.

This book is in three parts. Part I, "Aspects of intercultural educational activity," contains chapters on adjustment to new cultures, cross-cultural training and problem-solving in new cultures. These chapters present numerous practical suggestions for people who work with students or scholars who are outside their own countries.

Part II, "Research on learning and implications for educational interchange," contains two complementary essays that summarize research on the topic of learning, and draw some implications for people who design or conduct programs for foreign students and scholars. These essays are on a more theoretical plane than those in Part I.

Part III offers two case studies of the application of ideas from the intercultural communication field to work in international educational interchange.

It seems appropriate to acknowledge here that the ideas in this book stem from a U.S. cultural frame of reference. Most of the people who contributed to this book are natives of the United States, and they have, to one degree or another, retained U.S. values despite the extensive international experience that many of them have had. All of the contributors now work in the United States, as do most of the people for whom this volume is intended. Thus, it is not surprising that some typical U.S. assumptions are embodied in these pages. Those assumptions include at least the following:

—A focus on the education and experience of each individual exchange participant is appropriate.

—"Personal growth" does occur and is desirable.

—The development of some sort of "third culture," taking elements from diverse national cultures, is possible and desirable, and can and should be fostered.

—It is appropriate to be professionally concerned with and to try to influence the psychological lives of other people. Things can and should be done to alleviate other people's apparent psychological distress, and to promote psychological change in certain directions.

—Consciously planned activity can bring about changes in personalities and social systems, and those changes can be beneficial.

People who accept these assumptions and who work in the field of international educational exchange will probably find valuable ideas in this book. The bibliographic entries in the book will help readers who want to look further into topics they find especially interesting. The annotated bibliography that follows this introduction includes basic publications that practitioners in international educational interchange would probably want to read.

Annotated Bibliography

CONDON, J.C. and YOUSEF, F. *An introduction to intercultural communication*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975. Presents basic concepts and provides several ways of looking at the dynamics of intercultural interactions.

HOOPES, D.S. and VENTURA, P. (Eds.). *Intercultural sourcebook*. Washington, D.C.: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1978. Gives instructions for and an analysis of the specific training methods most often used in intercultural educational training programs.

STEWART, E.C. *American cultural patterns: a cross-cultural perspective*. Washington, D.C.: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1972. Helps Americans understand themselves as others see them, and gives a widely-used framework for comparing cultures.

WALSH, J.E. *Humanistic culture learning: an introduction*. Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1979. Offers a general discussion of the potential contribution of intercultural activity to the well-being of people in general.

Part I

Aspects of intercultural educational activity

Moving to a new culture is a complex experience. As they enter a new culture, people bring with them a complicated set of culturally-based assumptions, values, perceptions, and ways of behaving. Confronted with an alternative set of sets of assumptions, values, and so on, people who go abroad are usually forced to examine the "cultural baggage" they brought with them, and to decide, whether consciously or not, how much of that baggage they want to use, how much they want to discard, and how much they want to put into storage for later. This experience can be very trying or very exhilarating; for most people it is both. The essays in Part I are intended to help professionals and volunteers who work with participants in international educational interchange to develop a deeper understanding of the complexities of the intercultural experience, and to conceive of new ways to make the experience less trying and more constructive for the participants with whom they work.

The first chapter, "Dynamics of cross-cultural adjustment: from prearrival to re-entry," describes what typically happens to participants in educational interchange activity, from before they leave home until after they return. It offers numerous suggestions for people who work with these participants, whether as administrators, programmers, teachers, or counselors. These suggestions are intended to help practitioners understand what participants are experiencing, and influence those experiences in constructive ways. Steven Foust of the Experiment in International Living edited Chapter 2.

Chapter 2, co-edited by David Horner of Washington State University and Kay Vandersluis of the University of Minnesota, is entitled "Cross-cultural counseling." It concerns one-to-one relationships between educational interchange participants and those who seek to help them surmount personal difficulties they may be having. The chapter views the practitioner-participant relationship from the intercultural perspective, and describes attitudes and skills that practitioners are well advised to develop.

The third chapter, "English language teaching from an intercultural perspective," makes the assumption that learning about the culture of a target language does not necessarily take place in the language classroom without an explicit plan of instruction. The chapter, edited by Stephen Dunnett of the State University of New York at Buffalo, offers suggestions to those who wish to incorporate culture learning into their English classes for non-native speakers, and refers them to

materials that others interested in language and culture learning have found useful.

"Cross-cultural training," the fourth chapter, is intended to provide very practical suggestions to people who want to infuse programs for interchange participants with some of the ideas and methods from the intercultural communication field. It covers the design, implementation, and evaluation of cross-cultural training programs. Margaret 'Peggy' Pusch of the Intercultural Press, Inc., edited Chapter 4.

The final chapter in Part I is "Communication and problem-solving across cultures," by Felipe Korzenny of Michigan State University. Korzenny offers a comparison of information-processing styles that typify different cultures. His essay provides a theoretical basis and a set of practical suggestions for those who want to sensitize foreign students to possible differences between their problem-solving styles and those typical of members of the host culture.

1. Dynamics of cross-cultural adjustment: from pre-arrival to re-entry

Stephen Foust, editor

with John Fieg, Jolene Koester,
Lawrence Sarbaugh and Larry Wendinger

The concept of adjustment implies change. In cross-cultural adjustment one is concerned with the changes in thinking and behavior required when moving from one cultural milieu to another. The nature of the adjustments required depends on the nature of the differences between the original and the new culture and on the objectives the sojourner seeks to complete in the new culture.

The concept of adjustment assumes that people moving from one culture to another have well established sets of behaviors for operating in their own, or primary, cultures. As they enter new cultures those patterns of behavior no longer satisfy their needs. In developing new patterns of coping with their new environment travelers experience varying degrees of disorientation and discomfort.

This chapter will consider three time periods pertaining to cross-cultural adjustment:

1. Preparing to enter a new culture
2. Living in a new culture
3. Re-entering the primary culture

Although this division into time periods is somewhat arbitrary, each period has special characteristics and dynamics that will affect a person's adjustment. Emphasis will be given to describing what can happen to cross-cultural sojourners in each of the time periods, how travelers might react to their new living situations, and how their adjustment might best be facilitated by educators working with them. The concern here is to identify factors most likely to interfere with the realization of the sojourner's needs and goals in the new environment and to provide suggestions that might help in understanding and managing the adjustment process. Hoopes (1976) provides ideas for eductional programs appropriate for each of the phases of adjustment discussed here.

PREPARING TO ENTER A NEW CULTURE

Factors influencing cross-cultural adjustment

Several sets of factors influence the nature of a sojourner's adjustment to a new culture:

1. situational factors,

2. awareness of own and new culture,
3. individual characteristics, and
4. communication patterns.

After discussion of each of these sets of factors, two patterns of adjustment will be considered, and then some ways to help the sojourner adjust will be presented.

Situational factors

Situational factors (David, 1972) encompass elements of both the physical and the social environment. Among the most important are the following:

Survival issues. Adjustment can be affected by such elements as climate, clothing, transportation, food and water, housing, money, language, and availability of names of persons to contact for information or advice.

Social support system. Research indicates that there is a clear correlation between the presence of satisfactory social relationships and one's liking for and overall adjustment to the host country. Satisfactory relationships facilitate access to information that is needed to live in the new culture.

Contact with other sojourners. The sojourner's attitude toward the host country may be influenced as much or more by his fellow sojourners as by the host nationals. One way that the sojourner may improve his adjustment is by learning to imitate the behavior of sojourners who have adjusted successfully.

Health problems. The sojourner will need information to deal with basic health needs; fear of illness may be more detrimental to adjustment than illness itself.

Legal status. A sojourner's legal status within the host country can affect adjustment, especially if that status is unclear.

Outlets for personal interests. The presence or absence of opportunities to engage in favored intellectual or recreational activities affects adjustment to a new culture.

Language ability. Language proficiency is related both to adjustment ability and to the amount of social contact with various aspects of the new culture.

Awareness of own and new culture

The above mentioned and other situational factors might be viewed as the tip of the iceberg, beneath which lie assumptions, values and norms of the host culture. Only as sojourners begin to recognize and accept the deep-seated cultural characteristics they encounter will they find it easier to deal with those characteristics as they manifest themselves in various settings. Hampering this process of understanding is the pervasive problem of ethnocentrism, the belief that one's own way of life is superior to all others. Because ethnocentrism moves to

the deepest levels of individual personality and group identification, its power tends to be overlooked (Herskovits, 1972). However, when people are confronted with alternative cultural values, they gradually become aware of the assumptions underlying their own values and they can (but do not necessarily) begin to see that the values of the host country are neither superior nor inferior to their own, but are simply different.

The difficulty of adjustment will increase as the differences between the original and the new culture increase. The degree of difference in norms, world view, and patterns of relationships will affect the ease and quickness of cross-cultural adjustment.

Individual characteristics

Individuals have unique characteristics influencing their abilities to adapt to a new culture. For instance, adjustment is likely to become more difficult as the beliefs and behavior patterns of the individual become more rigid. The person who has difficulty coping with difference, change, and uncertainty will most likely have difficulty with cross-cultural adjustment.

The willingness of sojourners to be content with something less than their original goals can affect their ability to adjust to the new culture. It is often not possible to realize all of one's explicit goals in the new culture, and the disappointment or embarrassment can inhibit cultural adaptation. For instance, someone may come to the United States to earn a Ph.D. but may find, after arrival, that the degree is for some reason unattainable. This can cause frustration and "loss of face" for the individual, and thereby block successful adjustment.

Communication patterns

Communication factors are not independent of those already mentioned, but are involved in every aspect of the cross-cultural experience. The capacity to communicate effectively will influence the general satisfaction of the parties in all the other realms of contact and activity. Communicating well involves more than understanding the word and speech patterns common to the new culture. It requires work on identifying cultural norms, understanding relationships between people as they are understood by host nationals, and understanding people's intentions within a given communication setting. Two key notions to teach travelers for communicating effectively are (a)the relativity of meaning elicited by both verbal and non-verbal codes and (b)the seeking and giving of feedback to check out meanings. Both of these topics are discussed further in this article, in "Facilitating adjustment."

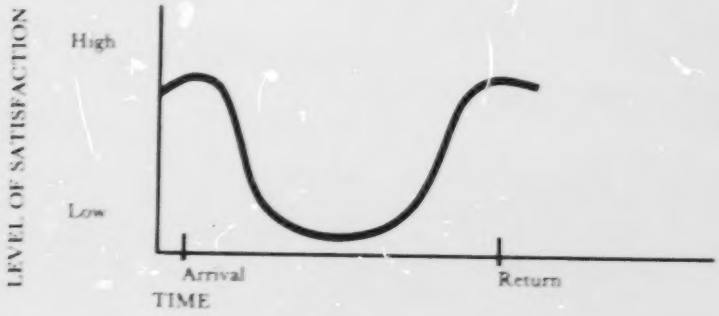
Patterns of adjustment

Several theoretical models have been proposed to describe the patterns of adjustment which seem discernible when people enter new

cultures. Two of these models will be considered briefly here, the U-curve (Smith, 1955) and culture shock.

U-curve

Those who work with cross-cultural travelers, and those who have themselves moved to a new culture recognize the U-curve pattern of adjustment as occurring no matter how many times one has entered another culture. Therefore, it is important for participants who are preparing for a cross-cultural experience to be aware of this psychological pattern.



The curve attempts to illustrate the period of high excitement and anticipation a sojourner usually feels when preparing for the trip and upon arrival in the new setting. The early stimulation of sights, sounds and people can be very invigorating and can lead to great excitement and pleasure. But after a week or two, or some relatively short period of time, the letters from home come to seem slow in arriving, the food is not satisfying, the "guest" relationship is over and the hard work of adjustment begins. As all of this happens, satisfaction with the situation declines. Only after some more weeks (or longer) of adjustment and work does the curve begin to rise again; only after a new set of social relationships develops, after adjustment has taken place does satisfaction increase. The steepness of the decline and recovery, as well as the depth of the curve, will vary, but the general pattern usually occurs. (Sojourners also generally experience a similar U-curve of adjustment when returning to their own culture; this is discussed later.)

Culture shock

Culture shock is another term used to describe the dynamics of initial entry into a new culture (Oberg, 1954). It is traditionally defined as the feeling of frustration and anxiety which arises when familiar cultural cues are suddenly removed and replaced by new and seemingly bizarre behavior. A few of the symptoms of culture shock are excessive concern

over food and drinking water; fits of anger over delays and other minor frustrations; unreasonable fear of being cheated, robbed or injured; obsession with minor pains; negative feelings toward host nationals; and, finally, a great longing to be back home.

Although culture shock can be unpleasant (and the traditional notion of culture shock has accentuated the pain involved), culture shock is very much a part of the stimulus that leads to increased awareness and personal development (Adler, P., 1974). Janet Bennett (1977) points out that the disorientation of culture shock can force the sojourner into the type of reflection and introspection needed to bring about increased awareness, both of self and environment; and it can challenge the sojourner to develop new communication skills. Exposure to a new culture is most constructively viewed as an "encounter" (not necessarily a shock) which offers unique opportunities for insight into oneself, one's culture, and the culture of the host country.

Facilitating adjustment

This section will discuss the goals of those interested in facilitating cross-cultural adjustment, and various aspects of facilitation or orientation for intercultural experience.

Goals of cross-cultural facilitation

Educators concerned with cross-cultural adjustment strive to help sojourners manage culture shock and use it as an impetus for growth and learning. Educators and facilitators have some specific goals in providing information and experiences that will help sojourners cope with the adjustment process. These goals include (a) increasing awareness of typical patterns of adjustment and of the factors affecting those patterns, (b) providing information needed by the sojourners, and (c) developing within the participants the capacity to manage their own adjustment to the new culture.

Aspects of facilitation for cross-cultural experience

Increasing awareness of cultural variations. Reading a book such as William Graham Sumner's *Folkways* (1940) can help participants increase their awareness of the variety of ways humans have developed to deal with basic needs. The book helps explain how the patterns of dealing with human needs get institutionalized and ritualized. Small group discussion can help elucidate some of the book's insights. Robert Kohls' (1979) *Survival Kit for Overseas Living*, written for Americans going abroad, gives an introduction to culture, cultural differences, stereotypes and the psychological experience of being a foreigner.

Discussion of the interdependence of various social institutions and associated values can provide a base for experiencing and coping with differences one faces in a new culture. For example, one could note the

relationship between highly autocratic family systems and autocratic patterns in other social institutions. One might note how increased mobility creates more individual freedom of action but also might result in less well defined or rewarding familial structures.

Coping with difference. Increasing ability to cope with the cultural differences is an essential ingredient of cross-cultural orientation. Coping with difference is increasingly a part of life in highly technological countries (see Toefler, *Future Shock*, 1970). It is also part of the cross-cultural adjustment process.

One method of giving individuals an opportunity to practice coping with difference is to introduce them into a new cultural group within their own country, a cultural group quite different from that with which they usually interact. U.S. suburbanites can have quite an intercultural experience spending several days in an inner city slum area. There are distinct ethnic communities in the United States. Participants could be asked to write a paper describing a "subjective culture" (Triandis, 1972)—such as a piano bar, an urban gang, a cooperative, a religious group, from which they feel quite different.

Practical information and intercultural communication. Cross-cultural adaptation can be facilitated by an orientation program which conveys certain information to sojourners and which helps them develop certain attitudes. Perhaps a helpful means of envisioning the orientation process is to think in terms of two "levels" of the process, that of practical information and that of interaction through (or the process of) intercultural communication. Actually, there is considerable overlap between the two levels, for even simple practical information about such things as means for summoning a waiter or the use of a telephone, will have an intercultural communication dimension. Still, the practical information-intercultural communication distinction makes it easier to plan an orientation program.

It is important to avoid *information overload* in any kind of preparation for a cross-cultural experience. One way of preventing this during the pre-departure orientation is to present general ideas about the process of adjustment and a brief introduction to the new culture; arrival and continuing orientation can concentrate on specific aspects of the new culture, and also re-emphasize some of the general aspects of adjustment.

Practical information in an orientation program. Both pre-departure and arrival orientations should give top priority to the provision of practical information dealing with the sojourners' immediate physical needs. New arrivals need information about such topics as the geography of the local area, eating facilities, transportation, housing, communication, and shopping. Such information is sometimes labeled "survival material"; sojourners will be preoccupied with these immediate needs

and will be unable to turn their attention to more abstract considerations of cultural adjustment until these needs are satisfied.

Though such information may appear elementary to the person providing it, the briefer should proceed at a relaxed tempo in order to encourage all questions, even those which the sojourners may feel are too insignificant to ask but which concern them nonetheless. The briefer must also be sensitive to the cultural dimension of even this ostensibly "factual" information. In a culturally diverse group, for example, expressions such as "sale," "suburb," "bar," or "transfer" may evoke images quite distinct from those intended by the briefer.

It is important to identify sources of information which are readily available when the need for them arises. A minimal set of sources would include (a)encyclopedias providing data on the country to be visited; (b)materials from tour agencies; (c)historical novels providing insights into the country and people; (d)government publications giving introductory information about the place being visited; (e)current international newspapers of the countries involved; and (f)persons with experience in the host culture. Certain magazines, such as *National Geographic*, can provide helpful information about many countries.

Another important piece of practical information is a set of addresses and telephone numbers of contact persons both in the home country and in the new culture. Besides increasing the sojourners' sense of security in the new culture, the contacts can provide the initial element in a social support system.

Foreign students and scholars need practical information about the educational system they are going to become a part of. They need to understand the academic calendar, the formats for instruction (lectures, discussions, laboratories, etc.), methods of evaluation, the roles of students and of teachers, and the intellectual skills they will need to succeed in the system.

Intercultural communication in an orientation program. That part of orientation which deals with intercultural communication can introduce profound yet immediately relevant insights into cross-cultural living. Introducing the concept of intercultural communication aims to increase the sojourners' awareness of cultural differences and to prepare them to use this awareness as they interact in the new environment.

This discussion of intercultural communication will include remarks pertaining to non-verbal communication, language, the concept of relativity of meaning, and using "feedback" as a means to increase communication skills.

An effective method of introducing cultural differences and problems in communicating across cultures is to discuss and act out examples of non-verbal communication. If sojourners can see immediately that modes of non-verbal communication are by no means universal, they will be more open to subsequent analysis of less accessible aspects of intercultural communication, such as differences in cultural values.

Five areas of non-verbal communication are prominent in everyday interaction: body movements and gestures, use of space, eye movements, the "use" of time, and touching behavior. Each of these areas of communication can readily lead to misunderstanding if their cultural dimensions are not considered. Prolonged eye contact, for example, implies threat in some cultures, directness and honesty in others.

A three-step process is involved in arriving at the meaning of non-verbal message: An individual (a) looks at the action that is taking place; (b) makes a judgment or assumption concerning the action; and (c) draws a conclusion. For example, an Indonesian looking at an American standing with hands on hips might judge the stance to be hostile (implying a readiness to fight) and conclude that the American is being aggressive or arrogant. In the American culture, however, such a stance is simply a relaxed, informal pose often adopted during coversation. The Indonesian has erred during step (b) above, having made a judgment unaware that it is culturally biased—unaware, in fact, that any judgment has been made at all. For other interesting and thought-provoking examples of non-verbal communiction, Edward Hall's books *The Silent Language* (1959) and *The Hidden Dimension* (1969) are highly recommended. Also see the research by Ekman and Friesen (1969) for useful insights.

Further insight into cultural differences can be attained by comparing languages, particularly vocabulary items, for language is to some extent a mirror of the mind. Linguists have long debated the exact relationship between language, perception and thought, specifically regarding the question as to whether language both reflects and shapes the way we perceive, think and act (Condon and Yousef, 1975, Chapter 8; Walsh, 1979, Chapter 4). It is sufficient for present purposes to recognize that language and perception are somehow interrelated and that insights into a culture can be gained by analyzing the language spoken therein. Examining personal pronouns, for example, reveals the essentially egalitarian pattern of American interpersonal relationships and the more hierarchical approach of certain Asian societies. Americans use "I" and "you" regardless of the status or the degree of intimacy of the individuals involved in the conversation. In Asian languages such as Thai and Nepali, on the other hand, pronouns will shift depending on such factors as status, age, rank and intimacy.

Noting the references (or lack of references) to time within the language can give some indication of the nature of the time orientation that prevails in the society. One may note that conceptual stucture for dealing with past, present and future events, as well as the specificity of time references.

This brief look at non-verbal communication and language helps to underscore the importance of the notion that meaning is relative. It is a

commonly accepted proposition that the meanings elicited by both verbal and non-verbal communication are in one sense unique to each person. To the extent that persons have had similar experiences associated with a code element, that code will elicit similar, but not identical, meanings. This notion of relativity of meaning serves as a reminder of the risks involved in assuming that the codes (verbal or non-verbal) which one person uses have the same meaning for that person as they do for another. Awareness of this concept would seem essential for those moving into new and different cultures.

Receiving and giving feedback increases the effectiveness of communication in any situation. Especially important in intercultural situations, feedback helps introduce a self-correcting function within a transaction.

One highly practical tip in the use of feedback is to ask the question "What do you understand?"—not "Do you understand?" Asking people if they understand applies pressure for an affirmative response; asking them what they understand, however, helps clarify the effectiveness of the attempt to communicate.

Seeking and giving feedback is considered one of the key skills in communicating, and especially so in cross-cultural communication. There are many simulations and games which show the usefulness of feedback and which describe techniques for giving and receiving feedback (Budd & Ruben, 1975; Sarbaugh, 1979a, 1979b).

Orientation techniques. Techniques for preparing persons for a cross-cultural experience are many and varied. Many have already been mentioned. Reading, talking with people who have been "there," seeing films and slides, role playing, taking part in simulations, written exercises and group discussions are all methods of learning what one needs to know before arriving in the new culture.

The "BaFa BaFa" simulation (Shirts, 1977) provides an experience that stimulates awareness of language, norms and feelings which arise within and between groups. This exercise helps develop awareness of self and others as culturally conditioned beings. It provides an experience in learning, by trial and error, the "must" and "must not do" of the behavior and belief system of the other culture. It illustrates how ethnocentrism develops and how it affects intercultural transactions.

Another exercise which helps increase self-awareness regarding norms and basic beliefs is to ask those in preparation for the cross-cultural experience to list:

1. What they believe is the nature of life, the purpose of life and the realtion of themselves to the cosmos (universe).
2. How they believe persons in the host culture would respond to the proceeding question.

3. What they must do and what they must not do to be valued in their own culture.

4. What they believe persons in the host culture must do and not do to be valued.

This exercise will stimulate thinking about one's own beliefs and those of others. Discussion of ways of discovering the beliefs of others can aid in communicating with other people both in one's own and in a host culture.

Other useful orientation techniques and instructive guidelines about their use can be found in *Beyond Experience* (Batchelder & Warner, 1977); *Adjusting to the U.S.A.* (Fieg and Yaffee, 1977); *A Manual of Structured Experiences for Cross-Cultural Learning* (Weeks, Pedersen & Brislin, 1977); and the *Intercultural Sourcebook* (Hoopes & Ventura, 1979).

LIVING IN A NEW CULTURE

Factors influencing adjustment

While living abroad, cross-cultural sojourners will discover the dynamics of "actually being there" to be somewhat different from just hearing about or discussing those dynamics during preparation for their departure. It is difficult to apply theoretical knowledge obtained through orientation, books, films or conversations to the actual process of cross-cultural adaptation. This section will discuss briefly some of the factors influencing the dynamics of adjusting to a new culture, including references to culture shock, communication capabilities, the imposition of one's personal values upon others and the influence of time on adaptation.

Culture shock

Some distress while trying to adapt to a new culture is understandable. One is usually bombarded with new cultural forms; new language; new routines; new people, sounds, smells and gestures. The extra effort expended to comprehend what is happening adds to the burden by increasing fatigue and drawing on reserve energy. Anyone spending a significant amount of time living in a new culture will experience some new, and probably not always pleasant, sensations. Experience suggests that culture shock can result in many behavior patterns, from mild depression to severe paranoia. Victims of extreme culture shock often cease attempts to communicate; some may cling to people or artifacts of their own culture; and others may press valiantly on, enduring their unhappiness but accomplishing and learning little. Most cross-cultural sojourners experience some moments when they cannot make sense of their new environment, when they cannot predict the actions of others, or when their own habitual actions seem to produce bizarre responses in others. They fear that they have made a

mistake in deciding to go to the new culture, and they consider returning home immediately. Some do just that.

Communication capabilities

Perhaps the major contributor to unease in a foreign environment is the increased difficulty, or even impossibility, of communicating what one wishes to communicate and of receiving the information one wishes to receive. (Felipe Korzenny's contribuiton to this collection elaborates on this idea.) Travelers bring with them their own communication habits, both verbal and non-verbal, that do not transcend cultural limits. Studies of intercultural communication have shown that the amount of time and energy needed for simple communication increases rather dramatically as cultural differences increase (Sarbaugh, 1979a; Condon & Yousef, 1975).

A cross-cultural sojourner should be aware of the possibilty that expectations may be fairly consistently violated. One's own gestures and other non-verbal cues can act, unbeknownst to the communicator, as saboteurs of communication. One's perceptions of any given person or situation can be quite different from the other person's perception.

Imposition of personal values

The tendency of cross-cultural sojourners to impose their own values and assumptions onto people in the new culture inhibits cross-cultural understanding. One should cultivate the habit of searching for personal mannerisms and assumptions that stem from one's own cultural backgound and that color one's perception of an event or person. It is best to develop the habit of avoiding definitive, prejudicial judgments that may result from in-grown cultural reponses. For example, it is best not to move rapidly to the conclusion that a native of the new culture (or the visitor to one) is "cheating" or "lying," when that person's behavior may be the result of more worthy motives.

The development of an open mind, receptive to different ideas, concepts and behaviors, is crucial to success in an intercultural situation. A certain amount of "cultural self-analysis" might reveal much about one's own motivations and value system; such knowlege can contribute to increased communication skills, increased acceptance and understanding of others, and more productive interaction. Until one has acquired enough self-knowledge to realize the true extent to which the outward personality is shaped by cultural habits and values, he or she is not completely capable of comprehending or learning from the cultural habits and values of a different society. When a cross-cultural adventure reveals to a person the extent to which outward behavior (and many inner feelings as well) is shaped by arbitrary cultural habits and values, when that person can learn not to define himself or herself through those values, it becomes possible for that person to broaden his or her range of responses to new situations and behaviors.

Influence of time within the new culture

Cross-cultural adaptation is a continuing process, with continuous evolution of insights, knowledge, physical skills and emotional skills. Of course, it is possible to live for years in a new culture and never be affected by it; but those involved in cross-cultural adjustment never cease to learn from the experience. It is important for sojourners to be flexible with newfound knowledge, to be prepared to discover that any single piece of information might not have universal applicability in the culture. Language-learning provides an example: sojourners often learn new words or terms and then, until they learn better, use that new vocabulary in situations that are not appropriate for it.

It is also possible to misunderstand cultural generalities and misapply the generalization. A non-American, perhaps, after preceiving with some difficulty that "Americans are frank," may misapply the insight and behave rudely in a given situation.

One possible reaction to living at some length in the new culture is withdrawing from it, isolating oneself from the most threatening aspects of the culture, and perhaps clinging to people from and artifacts of the former culture. Another possible reaction is to view negatively all aspects of the new culture, to belittle it, to consider its norms and values inferior to one's own culture.

A more positive reaction is to assume or take on many of the new culture's norms, especialy those involved in expressing oneself to others both in image and language. As the length of time in the new culture grows, the sojourners' ability to learn from their experiences should increase, as should their awareness of their own culturally influenced assumptions and of their personal motivations and value systems.

Facilitating adjustment

This section is a brief discussion of the goals of those interested in facilitating adjustment during the sojourn in the new culture. It also discusses some ways of facilitating that adjustment.

Goals of facilitation

Cross-cultural sojourners and their advisers should try to increase the amount of learning that can take place in the new environment and to minimize any negative effects of cultural differences. Specific goals include: (1) facilitating the acquisition of communication skills; (b) heightening self-awareness, as well as awareness of the new cultural norms; and (c) creating in the sojourners an ability to establish their own support sytems, to nurture their independent learning capabilities. The interaction with the new culture should be viewed as an experiential learning opportunity during which sojourners have an unparalleled opportunity to acquire new intellectual and emotional skills.

Means of facilitating adjustment

Practical information. As discussed previously, practical or "survival" information is of primary importance to the recent arrival. In addition to information about the essentials—housing, food, transportation, etc.—specific cultural information can also be useful. What specifically will visitors arriving in that particular host country find difficult to understand?

Those coming to the United States may have particular difficulty with the rapid pace of American life and the accompanying emphasis on punctuality and efficiency. It may also be difficult to accept the sense of egalitarianism on the part of American waiters, taxi drivers, bellboys, and others involved in service occupations. To Latin Americans, North Americans may appear cold and unemotional; yet to Southeast Asians, North Americans might appear impulsive and choleric. See *Adjusting to the U.S.A.* (Fieg and Yaffee, 1977) for a very comprehensive discussion of orientation for visitors to the U.S.

Visitors to the U.S. might be alerted to special characteristics of the teacher-student relationship in the United States. Coming from cultures where teachers are near the top of the social hierarchy, many visitors are stunned by the slouching, "disrespectful" demeanor of American students and the easy, often flippant, interchange between teacher and students in the U.S. (Fieg & Blair, 1975).

The initial problems of Americans abroad, on the other hand, may involve haggling for rent, setting up a house, social boredom, adjusting to a slower pace of life, isolation due to poor news coverage, feeling afraid of disease and the uncleanliness of food, feeling lonely, and not being able to obtain much personal gratification from the community (Hautaluoma & Kaman, 1975).

The position of recently arrived sojourners is a paradoxical one. They have before them the prospect of an exciting new venture, one that can prove socially rewarding, intellectually stimulating, and emotionally enriching. Yet these positive features of life in the new culture seem inextricably bound up with many of the initial problems. The same stimulus might trigger either anger or positive exhilaration, depending on one's outlook (Guthrie, 1975). By providing basic information dealing with initial problems, educators can increase the likelihood that participants in intercultural situations will have positive reactions.

Self-learning materials. Self-learning materials, usually in the form of a booklet and/or collection of assorted papers given to recently arrived visitors from other countries, can facilitate initial adjustment and provide a means for long-term adjustment. Self-learning materials for orientation typically include "survival information" such as maps, lists of places to eat and to shop for basic items, and guides to the use of local transportation and communication facilities. Beyond that, they may include readings about the country's culture, about local manners and

customs, people to contact for help and ideas for learning about and getting involved with local people. *The Transcultural Study Guide* (Darrow & Palmquist, 1975) provides a large number of interesting questions that people seeking to learn in a new culture can ask.

Group discussion. It is important for someone living in another culture to "maintain perspective," to keep a somewhat objective outlook on the various experiences that cross-cultural living can produce. Discussion of common experiences with other sojourners can help take some sting out of adaptation problems. Groups can get together to discuss the ramifications of cross-cultural living as well as the insights such an experience offers. Such discussion, however, should go beyond sharing mutually unpleasant experiences and bemoaning various characteristics of the new culture. Instead, focus should be on analyzing reactions, especially from a cultural viewpoint, and looking for the personal and cultural assumptions that have contributed to the sojourners' reactions. The point of such discussion is to develop insight into one's own motivations and values and to see how they are culturally influenced.

Certain catalysts for discussion, in the form of structured exercises for groups, can help to achieve the goal of such discussions. *A Manual of Structured Experiences for Cross-Cultural Learning* (Weeks, et al, 1977) and the *Intercultural Sourcebook* (Hoopes & Ventura, 1979) give detailed instructions for conducting and discussing exercises that illuminate cultural influences on people's behavior and thoughts.

Homestays. Many travelers to a new country have found living with a native family an excellent means of introduction to the new culture. Organizations such as the Experiment in International Living offer two to four-week homestays, both in the United States and other countries, for both students and professional people. The homestay offers perhaps the most sympathetic environment for learning and testing new skills in intercultural interaction. A family is usually anxious to learn about its new guest, and it extends a warm welcome and hospitality in order to put the sojourner at ease. Of course, sojourners will find many opportunities to make cultural "mistakes" in the homestay situation, but the consequences are less threatening than in an academic setting, and the sojourner is much more likely to learn from whatever mistakes are made.

Families provide the further benefit of acting as extremely accurate cultural "barometers," demonstrating a society's values and norms, as well as its common language usages. In most cultures, the family represents the basic part of a social support system; by providing this kind of support to someone from another country, it can facilitate cross-cultural adjustment.

Along the same lines, many universities have home hospitality programs wherein students from other countries have an opportunity to visit with American families, usually for an evening and dinner. These

relationships may develop and become more time-consuming and intimate, affording the sojourner an increased sense of belonging and a base from which to explore other—perhaps more challenging—social aspects of the culture.

Living in Latin America (Gordon, 1974), an account of a study based on the experiences of some young Americans living with families in Colombia, demonstrates the kinds of learning that can be derived from living with a family in a new culture.

Counseling. Counseling cross-cultural sojourners during their sojourn can smooth the adaptive process. The aim of such counseling is to help visitors understand what is happening to them, and to help them feel more secure in the new setting. Of primary importance is helping the sojourners develop their own abilities to adapt to new living conditions and to learn from them. Sojourners must be encouraged to take advantage of learning opportunities, not to retreat from them or to ignore the significance of any particular event. Counselors might encourage useful reflection by asking sojourners to consider what lessons they have learned from what happened to them that day, or that week. What was the value of any particular experience and what might it reveal in terms of cultural adjustment?

Intercultural residence hall arrangements. Some universities have established "international" residence halls (or portions thereof) where students from various countries live with each other. In such a setting it is easy for them to compare notes and insights and provide mutual support. The intent of the international house or floor is not to isolate the "foreign" students from the native student; in the more successful of these arrangements, native students are included as well.

International relations clubs. International relations clubs or cosmopolitan clubs are often established with the objective of promoting culture learning and/or interactions between foreign and native students. With good leadership and some financial base, organizations of this kind can have substantial educational benefits, much more for those who participate directly in their workings than for those who merely attend events these clubs might have organized. However, the history of international clubs on campuses, at least in the U.S., is often short and tumultuous, as members bring to it their diverse and often mutually incompatible assumptions about the role of student organizations, the proper behavior of a club leader, and the proper behavior of a member. A skilled observer of intercultural interaction can draw much culture learning from the tribulations of campus international clubs.

Continuing orientation programs and seminars. Sojourners can certainly benefit from ongoing orientation in the form of follow-up sessions dealing with the dynamics of intercultural adjustment and intercultural contacts. In addition, "culture-specific" seminars, dealing with historical, economic, political or social information about the new culture can be

very helpful, especially if sojourners have opportunities to discuss their own experiences and reactions.

RE-ENTERING THE PRIMARY CULTURE

Major factors influencing re-entry

Most research on cross-cultural adjustment indicates that the return to the primary culture can be as critical and difficult as the earlier adaptation to the new cultue. The re-enterer will usually experience a sense of elation upon initial return home to family and friends. However, this sense of joy and comfort with the home culture and with previous relationships often dissipates quickly. The returned sojourner will soon realize that the home environment is changed, and is not as pleasant and natural as it is remembered (or misremembered) as being. Expectations about being "home" turn out to have been excessively optimistic. The individual realizes that the foreign culture has produced new behaviors, attitudes and values in himself or herself. These changes often set the returnee apart from the home culture. Exacerbating the problem is the minimal interest family and friends often express in the experiences of the re-enterer.

Furthermore, the returned sojourner has often adopted new attitudes and beliefs concerning political and social issues. Finally, many sojourners return with an increased independence and little desire to accept the family or community supervision which played such a large role in their lives before departure.

The return home is a confrontation between the returnees' image of themselves as changed individuals (including their newfound understanding of their home culture) and the expectations of family and friends.

The term "re-entry shock" has been used to describe the readjustment process, as "culture shock" has been used to describe some of the dynamics of entry into a new culture. It has furthermore been suggested that the "U" curve used to describe the typical pattern of adjustment to a new culture also describes the reaction to re-entry. The two "U" curves combine to form a "W" curve that describes the ups and downs of adjustment to a new culture followed by readjustment to the old one (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963).

Issues and concerns of re-entry

It can be helpful to describe the specific concerns of the re-enterer. The returning sojourner can face a wide variety of difficulties, ranging from finding a job to feelings of cultural alienation. An enumeration of returnee concerns includes these items (Brislin, 1974):

Personal issues and concerns

1. Changes in eating, sleeping, and other habitual patterns.

2. Physical, mental and emotional anxiety and irritability due to changes in environment and in relationships with others.

3. Indentity crises resulting from inability to reconcile previous values, attitudes and life styles with those experienced and adopted while abroad.

4. Insecurity as a result of inability to fit into previous roles and patterns of behavior expected by others.

5. False expectations of self and others resulting from failure to anticipate and/or acknowledge re-entry concerns, i.e., "Nothing has changed."

6. Uncertainty about educational and career plans due to new insights and opportunities gained through the experience abroad.

7. Frustration with professional situation due to inability to study or work in chosen field.

8. Unhappiness over the loss of status, income, host country activities or other benefits and enjoyments of living abroad.

Social issues and concerns

1. Changed patterns of behavior in relating to others; differing social activities, recreational and leisure time interests, and work or school related activity.

2. Feelings of alienation and isolation from family, friends, and community due to changes in individuals and relationships.

3. Pressure from others to conform again to social norms in the home community.

4. Boredom resulting from a return to a daily work or school routine.

5. Loneliness due to becoming more independent while abroad, yet feeling "let down" as a result of no longer being a center of attention as a foreign student.

6. Feelings of superiority due to international experience and travel; frustration with others due to their perceived "provincialism" and failure to recognize the significance of the experience abroad.

7. Feelings of jealousy and resentment from peers who have not had international opportunities; need to share re-entry concerns and issues with others who have had a similar experience.

8. A need to maintain communication and relationships with friends and/or host family members in the host country.

9. Inability to integrate the cross-cultural learning experience into studies or work at home; inability to communicate what was learned to others.

10. Resentment from others due to adoption of host country communication patterns (verbal and non-verbal) that are not accepted in the home country; unfamiliarity with new or forgotten communication patterns (verbal and non-verbal) in home country.

Cultural issues and concerns

1. More objective and critical viewpoint of one's own culture and society.
2. More informed about and appreciative of one's own country and cultural background.
3. Reverse culture-shock resulting from unexpected changes in culture and society that have taken place during the experience abroad.
4. Feeling of alienation and "marginality" in that one does not fit into the home culture as before, yet is not a part of the new culture either.
5. Difficulty in readjusting to the educational environment and/or curriculum in the home country.
6. Frustration resulting from inability to "do something" to effect changes in social and cultural systems which are now viewed more critically.

Political issues and concerns

1. Changes in politcal conditions and policies that are unfavorable to the returnee.
2. Political climate and views of the returnee not conducive to professional activity and advancement.
3. Dissatisfaction with observed lack of inadequacy of national goals and policies, especially in relation to host country.
4. Dissatisfaction with observed nationalism instead of internationalism in foreign policy and international relations.

Re-entry styles

Nancy Adler (1974) and Theoret, Adler, Kealey, and Hawes (1979) describe three different coping styles exhibited by returnees: alienation, reversion and integration.

The *alienated* returnee reacts negatively to the home culture, criticizing its dominant values, beliefs and norms while glorifying the cultural beliefs and values found in the foreign country. Re-enterers of this type refuse to recognize that they are in transition from one culture to another. Alternatives for resolving personal, social and political concerns are restricted.

In sharp contrast to the alienated style is the style of *reversion*, whereby the returnee reverts to the same values, beliefs, and norms which guided choices before the cross-cultural experience. Any changes which may have occurred during contact with the other culture are rejected.

The final, preferred style, *integration*, is that of the returnee who uses the return home as an opportunity for learning and change. The transition is challenging but exciting, as returnees try to integrate aspects of their foreign cultural experience into their life at home.

Not all returnees consistently and unambiguously reflect any one of these styles. At different points in the re-entry period the re-enterer may

exhibit characteristics of any of the three styles. Some of the factors that influence a returnee's coping style, in addition to the nature of the returnee's own personality, are these (Adler, 1974):

Expectations. What are the returnees' expectations about family, friends, jobs? If these expectations can be articulated before or immediately upon return, the stress of re-entry can sometimes be reduced.

Change and awareness of change. The degree of change that has taken place within the individual will affect the ability to readjust; however, if the returnee is aware of the changes (and seeks to learn from them), smooth adaptation is more likely.

Practical decisions. The returnee must make some decisions concerning the practical aspects of living—where to work, live or pursue educational objectives.

Desire to return home. An individual who approaches the return home with foreboding will no doubt become an alienated re-enterer. On the other hand, the individual who returns home eagerly, but is also aware of the readjustment that will be needed, will likely follow the integrative mode of re-entry.

Sense of accomplishment. When returnees evaluate their cross-cultural experiences as successful, they are likely to adjust more easily to the home environment.

Sharing the experience. The opportunity to discuss the cross-cultural experience with individuals who have had similar experiences is usually conducive to adaptation of the integrative style of readjustment.

Facilitating readjustment

Goals of facilitation

Based on what is known about the nature and process of the re-entry experience, several goals for the facilitation of readjustment can be identified:

1. Helping bring the experience abroad to a positive conclusion;
2. Increasing awareness of the psychological dynamics of the re-entry process;
3. Reflecting upon the changes and learning that have taken place as a result of the cross-cultural experience, and considering changes in the home environment that have occurred during the time abroad;
4. Identifying expectations about returning home;
5. Providing opportunities for returning students to establish contact with other returnees who can provide support.

Means of facilitating readjustment

The re-entry experience actually begins while the individual is still in the foreign culture. A useful approach to pre-return preparation is outlined by Brislin and Pedersen (1976) in their writing about re-orientation seminars at the East-West Center in Hawaii. That approach

is based on the assumption that if a person anticipates specific difficulties which could occur during or because of a stressful event, the individual will cope with the stressful event more effectively. Using this "work of worrying" concept, seminar participants are asked, just before they return home, to work out in their minds potential difficulties they might encounter. They are not told that they will have such problems, but that there is a possibility that they will. The objective is to have the individual learn as much as possible about the psychology of re-entry, to prepare for its negative effects, so as not to be surprised by them, and to envisage what might be done if any of the negative effects indeed occurs.

While designing a reorientation program, one should consider the various needs of the returnees. There are several variables that will affect both the content and the process of reorientation:

1. *The nature of the cross-cultural experience.* The extent of programming that is appropriate and desirable is a function of the length and quality of the experience abroad. For example, a graduate student traveling and studying alone for three months will need reorientation with a different focus than that needed by a college sophomore who has been living with a host family for a year.

2. *The environment to which the participants are returning.* If a student returns to non-supportive or unstable personal and professional situations, more extensive reorientation will be necessary.

3. *Availability of re-enty support systems.* Absence of contact with others who can share the cross-cultural experience, or lack of personnnel who can help with readjustment, can inhibit growthful integration upon re-entry; this would indicate a greater need for reorientation assistance prior to return.

Methods of reorientation generally range from weekend seminars to the provision of self-learning materials to individuals. Following are some possible program designs, along with suggestions about formats and readings that are useful for specific approaches to reorientation. (Some of these readings have been cited previously, in other contexts.)

1. Weekend seminars, re-entry workshops, informal weekly meetings, and other group-oriented programs have shown to be successful approaches to reorientation. Readings:

a. *Re-entry/Transition Seminars:* Report on the Wingspread Colloquium (Marsh, 1975)—a general overview of guidelines and recommendations for ways to assist foreign students in the United States to return and fulfill needed roles in their countries of origin.

b. *Planning and Conducting Re-entry/Transition Workshops* (Mercil, n.d.)—a publication on the nuts and bolts of re-entry programming, including activities and readings specifically oriented toward Youth for Understanding, but applicable to other programs.

2. Group activities are often desirable for reorientation, since they stimulate awareness and discussion of re-entry concerns shared by others. Readings:

a. *A Manual of Stuctured Experiences for Cross-cultural Learning* (Weeks, et.al.)—a useful and thorough guide to general cross-cultural learning activities, many of which are applicable to re-entry.

b. *Beyond Experience: The Experiential Approach to Cross-cultural Education* (Batchelder & Warner, 1977)—a collection of program materials used at the Experiment in International Living, including ideas on assessment and evaluation of training activities.

c. *Intercultural Sourcebook: Cross-cultural Training Methodologies,* (Hoopes & Ventura, 1979)—a practical and insightful source of information on methods, some of which can be used in reorientation for assessment of cross-cultural learning.

3. If group meetings or activities are not possible, self-orienting materials, handouts, and articles can be used effectively on an individual basis. Readings:

a. *"Can They Go Home Again?"* (Brislin & Van Buren, 1974)—a general and insightful article about the issues and concerns of the foreign student returning home.

b. *"Beyond Cultural Identity: Reflections on Cultural and Multi-cultural Man"* (Adler, P., 1974)—a thoughtful and provocative commentary on the social and psychological development of the individual through cross-cultural experiences.

c. *AFS Student Study Guide, Unit III* (AFS, 1979)—a self-learning student guide to re-entry, with helpful activities and readings related to readjustment and global perspectives learning.

d. *Re-entry, A Guide for Returning Home* (Theoret, Adler, Kealy & Hawes, 1979)—a short booklet, or "Re-entry Kit," that provides basic background information and a model for individual and family re-entry planning.

4. Academic courses designed to integrate the knowledge and skills gained while abroad into a formal academic program provide a way for students to obtain academic credit for their cross-cultural learning experiences and simultaneously to deal with re-entry. Readings:

a. *Readings in Intercultural Communication, Volume II* (Hoopes, 1972)—concerns the teaching of intercultural communication.

b. *Communication and the Intercultural Re-entry* (Koester, 1977)—a syllabus for a course about re-entry.

Conclusion

The success of orientation for a cross-cultural experience, whether it involves going to a new culture or returning to an original one, depends on sensitizing participants to possible violations of expectations and to ways of coping when their expectaions have been violated. This re-

quires identifying the components of the adjustment process and their interrelationships; providing so-called "survival information"; increasing communication skills; and developing a stable social support system. All of these aspects of orientation should emphasize the personal growth that can occur even as one is struggling with the discomfort of being unable to predict what is going to happen in the new situation.

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2. Cross-cultural counseling

David Horner and Kay Vandersluis, co-editors
With A.A. Alexander, Husain Bashey, Clifford Clarke and Dennis Peterson

An awareness of the influences of culture on the way people think, feel, and act is of primary importance in effective cross-cultural counseling. Advisers, counselors and other helpers of foreign students often possess this awareness, but lack the analytical tools to effectively use it in their counseling with students. Without such tools, the exploration and clarification of cultural biases in the counseling process is very difficult. This chapter suggests a conceptual framework for asking questions which will help reveal the cultural orientation, and therefore cultural biases, of both counselor, counselee and the counseling interaction. The chapter also contains numerous suggestions that are intended to help people who serve as counselors (formally or informally) to people of diverse cultures.

The temptation, in a chapter about cross-cultural counseling, is to write a "how to" manual. The danger in that approach is that it would ultimately limit the repertoire of flexible, creative, sensitive, intuitive and rational responses that cross-cultural counselors need to develop. Were we to write a "cookbook" for foreign student counseling of the sort that Julia Child has written for French cuisine, the practitioners who followed it slavishly would only turn out Julia's dinners, not their own, and not necessarily what is most appropriate for their clients. Therefore, while we offer some specific examples and principles, the reader is asked to bear in mind that the one thing which we cannot specify is the creativity and discrimination which he or she can bring to the counseling interaction.

In discussing cross-cultural counseling in a book on intercultural communication, we make several assumptions about the cross-cultural counselor and the counselees that we want to specify at this point:

1. Working with people from different cultural backgrounds is a privilege; it presents an opportunity to gain mutual benefit by learning about other ways of seeing and being in the world.

2. Openness to learning is directly reflected in our attitudes and behaviors, inside and outside of the counseling relationship, by the demonstration of respect, love and acceptance of the other person, regardless of the nature of the need, problem or cultural perspective.

3. Involvement in a cross-cultural, experiential learning process implies the counselor's willingness to be flexible and to take risks with an ever-expanding repertoire of interpretive and behavioral skills that will facilitate more effective communication.

4. Stress is an inherent part of all cross-cultural experiences. It expresses itself in varying degrees of ambivalance, dissonance and threat which contribute to feelings of fear, powerlessness, confusion and anger, on the part of both the counselor and the counselee. These feelings tend to limit students' coping skills by interfering with their willingness to change and to learn new interpretive and behavioral skills. Consequently, the foreign student may rely on old skills which are often culturally, socially and personally inappropriate in the new setting. In such cases, meanings of interactions are not shared, objectives are not achieved and intercultural communication results in frustration.

5. We assume that a helping/supportive relationship with the foreign client is necessary and that appropriate cross-cultural "counselor" training is desirable and beneficial for the client.

6. Finally, we assume that viewing the counseling interaction from the perspective of intercultural communication will provide a useful conceptual framework for our discussion.

All human interaction involves thinking, feeling and behaving. How one thinks, feels and behaves is greatly influenced by one's cultural background as well as one's personal characteristics and social environment. The way we perceive or think about the reality of the world around us, including the nature of relationships of people with one another, is highly influenced by social learning. Our use of intuition and reason and our attributions of power or control to others are influenced by the culture in which we have been reared. (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

A substantial part of what is conveyed through social learning in every culture concerns values. These values influence the rules by which the society is run, how people live their day-to-day lives, and how people conceive of and feel about themselves. Because all value options exist in every culture, value preferences should not be assumed to reflect any one culture in particular, or to have the power of predicting behavior. But cultural tendencies towards certain values do provide a useful *frame of reference* with which to explore and clarify how one interacts on a personal and social level. Since counseling activity explores feelings as well as thoughts and behaviors, inquiry into value systems is essential in cross-cultural counseling.

One's "communication style" also is influenced by the culture in which one grows up. The term "communication style" refers to the availability, selection and use of symbols for communication, both verbal and non-verbal. Especially relevant to the counseling relationship are cultural differences concerning eye contact, physical contact, turn-taking in conversation, self-disclosure, comfort with ambiguity, comfort with silences, attention to listening, greetings, ways of dealing with conflicts, and decision-making and persuasion styles, to name but a few aspects of "communication style."

The ability to draw upon a large repertoire of behavioral alternatives can be very useful to a cross-cultural counselor in developing communicative competencies for intercultural interactions. However, a "communication style" repertoire is ineffective without a parallel appreciation for alternative value systems and perceptual orientations, as well as a genuine appreciation of the client as a unique human being.

This chapter presents an analysis of the cross-cultural counseling interaction, some applications of our perspectives in the training of cross-cultural counselors, and mention of other helping resources. The context of our discussion is international educational exchange, a term which we hope will be interpreted as broadly as the reader's imagination will allow. The many references to "the foreign student" are intended to be as applicable to Americans abroad as to foreign students in the United States. References to counselor, client, adviser and student are to be broadly interpreted by the reader. There is no intention to limit applicability to situations of specific cultures or to specific educational levels or experiences.

Exploring the counselor/client relationship

Cultural biases

The key to successful counseling rests with the establishment of a trusting relationship between the counselor and the client. This relationship is affected by a number of factors. When the client and the counselor are from different cultures, the number and complexity of factors is even greater. Each individual's perceptions, values and behaviors in the counseling setting influence the participants' expectations about the interaction, the communication process, and the desired counseling outcomes. If radical differences in these three areas exist, there is a strong possibility that a trusting relationship will not develop between a counselor and a client.

Uneasy feelings in the counselor may be a clue that the relationship is not developing in a direction that will produce desirable outcomes. The counselor may be unconsiously manifesting cultural biases, and seeking, albeit unintentionally, to impose those biases on the client. A cross-cultural counselor needs to be aware of his or her culturally-biased perceptions, assumptions, values, and behavior, not because they are inherently "wrong" in some way, but because they have to be openly acknowledged and perhaps even dicussed with the client, whose own cultural biases are also open for discussion. In this discussion lies the source of the mutual learning and the expectation of risk which was mentioned in our first three assumptions.

Behavior vs. feelings vs. thoughts

Social learning theory suggests that one's behaviors are the easiest aspect of the self to change. The next easiest are one's feelings, and the

hardest to change are one's thinking processes. Behavioral training has greater power to bring about changes in feelings and thought patterns than cognitive training has power to change behavior. This suggests that cross-cultural counselors would do well to study the interpersonal behavior as seriously as the feelings and thoughts of their clients from other cultures.

Behaviors can be viewed from the *descriptive level* of communication ("what you saw"); thoughts can be discussed at the *interpretive level* of communication ("what you thought about what you saw"); and feelings can be explored from the evaluative level of communication ("what you felt about what you saw"). A particular behavior seen intraculturally will often yield a different interpretation and evaluation if seen cross-culturally. A natural phenomenon in cross-cultural counseling (as in any intercultural interaction), mentioned in our fourth assumption, seems to be that we jump to negative judgments—or evaluations—when we see behaviors, i.e., those behaviors to which we are culturally accustomed. These negative judgments lead to frustrations and generally ineffective intercultural interaction. The counselor may unknowningly misinterpret a client's behavior by applying standards from his/her own cultural framework. If this misinterpretation is not clarified with the client, the course of the counseling relationship may become inappropriate and of no help to the client. It is, therefore, suggested that the counselor withhold negative judgments until the cultural context of the behavior and attitudes is explored.

World view

There are a number of dimensions on which one can analyze the counselor/client relationship. Being clear on where both counselor and client stand on these dimensions can assist in building trust and more effective helping. One culturally-based variable which influences the relationship between counselor and client is their "world view." The world view might be described as a general conception of humans' place in the universe, and of the factors that cause human beings to act—and interact—in the way they do. When counselor and client share similar world views, communication between them is more likely to be clear and direct. However, when differences exist between the two, caution is needed to assure accurate communication and understanding. Counselors who hold a world view and have value orientations different from those of the client with whom they are working, and who are not aware that these differences exist, are more likely to make negative judgments about their client's concerns, behavior, attitudes and values. The challenge for cross-cultural counselors, if they are to be effective helpers, is to be aware of the value and world view discrepancies between themselves and their clients.

How can clients' world views and values be ascertained? Counselors can get some assistance in determining students' world views by learning where the student stands in relationship to what psychologists call the "locus of control." People who believe that reinforcements for individuals are contingent upon "their own" actions and who believe that people can shape "their own" fate generally believe that they hold the power to make changes in their life circumstances. Such people are said to have an "internal" locus of control. One who has an "external" locus of control, by contrast, believes that reinforcing events occur independently of their own actions, and that their future is determined by chance, luck, and or people or organizations in their social environment (Sue, 1978).

Western counselors are generally trained to believe that the locus of control for one's actions rests within the individual. Most counseling methods used in Western culture assume that people have control over what they do and what they think, and that they also accept personal responsibility for their actions (Sue, 1978). Counselors can be extremely oppressive to students who do not share this particular aspect of their world view if they blindly assume that the clients see themselves as being personally able to change their circumstances.

The internal-external continuum

Another helpful analytical tool to assist counselors in determining the nature of their relationship with a client is to place the client's problem on an internal-external continuum (Sue, 1978). Problems stemming directly from the individual are considered to be at the internal end of the continuum, while those stemming from the environment are at the external end. Internal problems include those that relate to the individual's behavioral capabilities, such as lack of culturally appropriate behaviors, inadequate knowledge of appropriate skills; and those that relate to the individual's reinforcement expectations. External problems may center around behavioral requirements perceived to be unrealistic, unreasonable, or improper; or reinforcement system which may appear to the client to be confusing, contradictory, or inconsistent.

How does this bear on the cross-cultural counseling situation? Besides the obvious utility that comes from knowing where clients place themselves in terms of these perceptions and values, these concepts provide clues as to appropriate counselor behaviors. If the students have within themselves the notion that they should receive instructions from an authority and suffer no loss in self-esteem from doing so, should the counselor take that role? Unfortunately, the answer is "sometimes, yes" and "sometimes, no." The variables the counselor will have to sort through in making this decision are such things as the nature, length, and quality of their relationship; the possibility that such role assumptions by the counselor will be interpreted as truly supportive and

appropriate rather than distant and dismissive; the probability that any such help will be consistent with or contradictory to help that the student might seek from a co-national authority; and perhaps most importantly, whether offering direction will erode or enhance the client's self-esteem, status, and ability to function creatively in similar situations. The point here is not that these decisions and choices are too difficult for the counselor to make, for they must be made, but that the counselor must be aware of what the foreign student is bringing into the situation as well as the consequences to the student of the counselor's own behavior. Counselors must walk the tightrope of acknowledging their own personal value systems in these transactions, while not forgetting the impact their own behavior may be having on their clients' beliefs.

Helping a client deal with situational and environmental problems can lead to an atmosphere of trust and rapport. Assisting students in setting up appointments, finding housing, getting job interviews, or applying for financial aid may be the first step in establishing a good relationship in which further discussion may occur. Environmental or situational concerns play a role equal to personality variables in the counseling interaction. Cross-cultural counselors must pay attention to the situational variables which act upon students, although they may find that this results in expanding their role to that of an advocate and teacher.

Whose objectives?

Counseling objectives can be viewed from the standpoint of the client or from the standpoint of the institution. The counselor can seek to integrate the objectives that are suggested by these two viewpoints, or to minimize either one of them. Most western-trained counselors would choose to try to optimize the satisfaction of the counselee. However, for counselees from other cultures, meeting the society's or institution's requirements is often more important than meeting their own personal needs.

Power

In a related view of the counseling relationship, the counselor is labeled the "helper" and the client the "helpee." This distinction calls to mind the element of power that exists in the client-counselor relationship. The counselor needs to be aware of this power and to treat it responsibly. It is important that counselors are clear with respect to their own values and are aware of their own power-related attitudes when working with others. Not to be so is to run the risk of treating the client inappropriately, or of failing to clearly understand the client's concerns. Counselors who adhere to a hierarchical view of their role and try to impose it on their clients may encounter a great deal of resistance, since the client may view the counselor as attempting to demean or invalidate his or her culture or himself or herself as an individual. On the

other hand, there may be clients who expect the counselor to assume an overtly authoritative or even authoritarian role, and who will lose all respect for a counselor who assumes an equalitarian stance.

Time

Most counselors in the United States are very time-conscious. Schedules are important to them, and they do not question that their appointments are to be kept. They can also handle a fair amount of ambiguity and push their clients to consider long-range solutions to problems. American counselors are usually action-oriented and are looking for behavioral change. To judge clients solely by their responsiveness on these issues may be to treat them unfairly, since the clients may have less of a sense of urgency about "solving" their problems in some "efficient" way.

Language

Counselors who work with clients from another culture suggest that language is an important variable in counseling. Usage and understanding of symbol systems vary considerably by culture, and language-related issues need to be checked out with the client on a regular basis. It is easy to misinterpret a problem by failing to verify the client's apparent meanings. Non-verbal clues provide valuable information to the counselor, provided that they are interpreted within the framework of the client. Counselors must be aware of the different meanings that might be ascribed to variations in use of personal space, eye-contacts and conversation conventions, so as not to fall prey to judging the client by American standards of communication.

Probing

It may be difficult for the counselor to ascertain the real issue of concern to a client from a different culture. Frequently the problem presented by the client is one that he considers to be socially acceptable, such as a need to work, trouble with a roommate, or a financial or immigration question. These may not be the real problems, however. The counselor who sees clients with such concerns and fails to provide an opening for discussion of other issues may be depriving the client of an opportunity for assistance with a far deeper concern. Some questions which may lead clients to a discussion of more of their concerns are these: How is school going? Do you like your classes? Are you spending some time with friends or acquaintances these days? Are you happy with your housing? How is your family? Are you hearing from home? Are there any other things you would like to talk about? Naturally, these questions vary with each interview, but an attempt should be made to provide an opening where clients can feel comfortable in discussing other issues that may be on their minds. Clients frequently respond to these questions with information that helps the counselor to be more helpful with their concerns.

Learning to be a more effective counselor

Professional training of counselors is a difficult and complex undertaking. Complex theories and practices of counseling, and a wide range of beliefs and approaches in the education/training of counselors, are some of the factors contributing to this complexity. In recent years it has been demonstrated that people with a limited amount of specialized training can, in some situations, perform as adequately as professional counselors. At the same time, research dealing with psychotherapy/counseling outcomes is far from conclusive, failing to answer in unequivocal terms the ubiquitous basic questions: What kinds of counseling are effective with what kinds of clients, with what kinds of problems, and under what conditions?

Given this uncertainty in the general field of counseling, it is not surprising that no formalized university-based training program in cross-cultural counseling currently exists. Foreign student advisers are left to their own ingenuity and resources in seeking out suitable training. This may be just as well. Despite their great variety in theoretical orientation and in methods advocated, American approaches to counselor training share certain assumptions and values that rather clearly reflect an American or at least a Western cultural viewpoint. Without going into these assumptions and values at great length, we can present them most effectively by comparing them with what Stewart (1975) calls "contrast-American" assumptions and values. The following chart lists some assumptions or values that underlie most U.S. counselor training, contrasted to assumptions and values that might prevail elsewhere—and might be embodied in students from other countries.

American assumption/value	**Contrast-American assumption/value**
a. people (clients, counselors and everyone else) are isolable *individuals*	a. people are *integrally related* with other people (in groups such as families)
b. *personal growth and change* are valuable and desirable	b. *conforming* to time-tested ways of behaving is desirable
c. individuals have *control* over their own life circumstances	c. one's life circumstances are *dictated* by external (political, economic, social, natural) forces
d. personal *problems are often soluble*, through greater understanding of their origins and/or through remedial action undertaken *by the individual*	d. problems are *fated* to occur, and fate may or may not remove them
e. *"professional"* people can help other people solve their problems	e. one's problems are *beyond the control* of other human beings
i. people (counselors) can be *genuinely interested in the welfare of strangers*	i. only one's *close friends and relatives* can be trusted
ii. people (counselors) can be *dealt with as occupants of roles*	ii. other people are dealt with as *whole people*

American assumption/value	Contrast-American assumption/value
f. *open discussion* of one's problems can be beneficial	f. it can be *dangerous* to reveal oneself to others
g. emotional disturbances have their root in the *individual's* past	g. emotional disturbances have their root in *external* forces or situations
h. people are (more or less) equal	h. there is a *hierarchical* ranking of people in society
i. males and females are (more or less) equal	i. males are superior

Failure to acknowledge the existence of these contrast-American assumptions can lead a counselor to overlook essential components of a client's viewpoint and of a counselor-client relationship.

While it is tempting here to outline an experimental training program combining theoretical, practical and research issues in cross-cultural counseling, we will, more modestly, suggest some practical pointers for the professional growth of foreign student advisers/counselors who want to enhance their abilities, and/or increase their sense of confidence in themselves as cross-cultural counselors. These suggestions emphasize self-help approaches to attitudinal, knowledge and behavioral skill training, since we assume that it may not be possible for these counselors to pursue full-time professional training.

Ingredients of counseling relationships

In counseling foreign students, a helper needs to be concerned with his/her own attitudes, knowledge and skills.

Attitudes. Attitudes are by far the most important ingredient in counseling, and perhaps the most difficult to determine, measure and modify. In particular, it is significant to know the counselor's attitudes towards helping/counseling, interpersonal communication, intercultural communication, clients (particularly ones from other cultures), knowledge of political issues, and the role of counseling both in the college or university setting and in the community. These attitudes are brought to the counseling setting and in a complex way influence both the process and the outcome of counseling.

Equally important are the counselors' attitudes toward new learning and self-development. It is necessary for counselors to be fully aware of attitudes that might facilitate or impede the counseling relationship. Self-oriented theorists, such as Rogers (1961) and Truax and Carkhuff (1967), have emphasized personal warmth, genuineness and positive regard for the client as basic attitudes that are conducive to the development of a fruitful relationship. Psychoanalysts such as Freud, Sullivan and Horney have stressed the important role transference/counter-transference issues play in therapeutic interaction. Some questions an

adviser can ask himself or herself to cast some light on counseling-related attitudes are the following:

1. Am I able to accept the student as an individual deserving respect and acceptance?

2. Am I aware of the student's cultural and individual value orientation?

3. Am I aware of my own personal value orientation?

4. Am I accepting of the student's cultural and individual value orientation?

5. Am I able to specify to the client those difficulties in communication that stem from language, cultural and personal differences?

Knowledge. Knowledge refers to the counselor's store of information that is or might be useful in counseling. It is not possible to determine the extent or source of knowledge counselors may have at any given time. Their fund of knowlege will have come from a variety of sources, including formal schooling, incidental learning, travel, work and life experinces. Counselors may not be aware of their knowlege base. What is important for them to do is to make a conscious and concentrated effort to evaluate their knowlege as it relates to counseling foreign students, and then to devise measures for acquiring additional knowledge that promises to be helpful in counseling people who are culturally different.

Within the scope of this chapter it is difficult to present a detailed description of fields of knowledge relating to counseling. Some examples are provided by way of illustration:

1. A perspective on human life, behavior and interaction. This "philosophy of life" is developed through, among other things, an appreciation of knowledge from literature, art, philosophy, history, religion and life sciences.

2. A perspective on the cross-culture scene. This perspective may be developed through a review of work in the fields of sociology, political science, psychology, education, anthropology, communication, literature and linguistics. Traveling as well as active interaction with people from different cultures will greatly enhance the development of this perspective and will assist in developing a more open-minded attitude about counseling.

3. A perspective on counseling foreign students. This perspective can be achieved through studying writings both in the general field of counseling and in the specialization of cross-cultural counseling. (Some such works are listed at the end of this chapter.) Here again an open-minded attitude is necessary in reviewing divergent theories of counseling and their possible applications to the field of cross-cultural counseling. What is desirable is to develop a capacity for critical thinking and conceptualizing. The following questions deserve consideration:

a. Am I able to present conceptual/theoretical explanations of specific aspects of the counseling interaction?

b. Am I able to demonstrate knowledge of intercultural communications patterns?

c. Am I able to demonstrate knowledge about how people change?

d. Am I able to provide accurate information on academic, legal, immigration and other related areas?

e. Am I able to admit not having accurate information about certain questions raised by a client or needed during counseling? Am I able to provide necessary information later on?

Skills. The skills that are necessary for counseling foreign students are easier to develop than are the attitude and knowledge discussed above. However, mere acquisition of skills without attitudinal and knowledge development will not produce effective counseling. The set of skills that has been most extensively discussed in the counseling literature pertains to interpersonal communication. These skills facilitate favorable conditions for counseling relationships and interactions and help establish rapport between counselors and their clients. Counselors are considered competent in the utilizations of these skills when they are able to use them effectively to provide support, encouragement and clarification, and to confront, probe and interpret. The interpersonal communication skills are not confined to verbal exchanges; they also include non-verbal cues and messages.

In applying this set of interpersonal communiction skills to counseling foreign students, special attention must be paid to cultural and individual differenes in approaches to intercultural communication. Uncritical and indiscriminate use of the interpersonal communication skills commonly taught to counselors in the U.S. is likely to bring negative effects in counseling with foreign students. It is for this reason that the acquisition of skills alone will not result in effective cross-cultural counseling.

The following questions may help focus attention on useful counseling skills:

1. Am I able to engage the student in supportive interpersonal communication resulting in the development of (a)trust, (b)support and (c)ease in sharing the difficulty or embarrassment?

2. Am I able to ask appropriate questions that result in furthering communication and in obtaining relevant information?

3. Am I able to confront the student at appropriate times?

4. Am I able to provide adequate and timely interpretation as well as assist the student to interpret his/her behavior both in the counseling session itself and outside the session as well?

5. Am I able to summarize the major themes and learning occurring in the individual sessions?

6. Am I able to distinguish intercultural, interpersonal, and intrapersonal variables and use my understanding of these differences effectively?

Approaches to learning counseling

We have just listed a number of questions that are intended to help cross-cultural counselors assess the attitudes, knowledge and skills they bring to their work as counselors. We assume that many people who are called upon to do cross-cultural counseling are not able to become full-time students of counseling. They must learn and improve on their own, getting help when they can find it. There are many approaches to learning to be a more effective counselor. It is helpful to be explicit about the assumptions that underlie these self-help approaches to this learning. They include these:

1. Learners assume responsibility for their own training, and actively seek situations for new learning.
2. Learners are willing to take risks and become involved in learning situations that may feel threatening.
3. Learners develop a support system and engage in shared mutual learning with others who are also interested in counseling.
4. Learning is a process of growth in which counselors build on their own natural resources and styles.

Preparing for training. Foreign student advisers/counselors would like to pursue learning that is relevant to real situations. Their "training" must integrate cognitive and experiential learning and blend theory and practice. Steps suggested for this process include the following:

1. Self-assessment. Foreign student counselors can begin with a list of counseling and related functions they perform. These functions vary from institution to institution, depending on what other resources exist within the institution and the community, on the counselor's background and style, and on the needs and proclivities of the clientele. This means that particular foreign student advisers are at different stages of development and sophistication. In addition, their personal leanings toward counseling and related activities (consultation, coordination of other services) may also vary. Some advisers may emphasize the counseling component of their work far more heavily than others do. At any rate, in making a self-assessment list, advisers need to determine what aspects of their work include counseling and related activities, and, within this area, what their attitudes about counseling are, how knowledgeable they are about it and what counseling skills they have at their disposal.

2. Group interaction. While self-assessment can be conducted individually, it is more effective when done with a group or at least with a colleague. Group interaction is dynamic, provides a number of souces

of feedback and also provides emotional support. Group members may include colleagues from the same office and/or advisers from other institutions. Leadership for this group might come from participants who have had some background in training and in conducting learning groups. If funds are available, a trainer/consultant can be retained to serve as a facilitator. It is imperative that this group remain task-oriented. The group seeks, within a specified period of time (say 30 hours), to assist each adviser in achieving the following:

a. Determine his or her level of competence in counseling and related activities.

b. Determine specific training needs in the areas of attitudes, knowledge and skill acquistion.

c. Outline an individualized training program, specifying strategies and processes for achieving training goals.

d. Establish evaluative procedures and criteria for assessing progress toward the achievement of training goals.

3. Self-growth. Once the individualized training programs are drawn up, the next question is how the "trainees" go about achieving their goals. This is a difficult question, and in the absence of well-established and proven training programs, foreign student counselors/advisers need to match their training needs with whatever opportunities are available to them. Here, again, a group (or at least dyad) effort is recommended in the acquisition of most of the goals outlined in the training plan. This position is taken in the belief that foreign student advisers in their professional growth are likely to draw heavily on local and regional resources. Being in a group is likely to bring to their attention whatever training resources are available within their geographical area. Resources at the national level are important but are usually not easily accessible.

Training methods. Some of the approaches that have been considered effective in counselor training are listed here.

1. Human relations training. There are several human relations training programs specific to industrial and educational settings. Almost all of them are intended to make individuals more effective in interpersonal relationships, rather than to train counselors. These training programs have been called sensitivity training, T-groups, communication groups and encounter groups. A major influence in human relations training has been exerted by the National Training Laboratory (N.T.L.), which still provides human relations training in major cities in the United States. In addition, human relations training is offered by a variety of agencies in most communities. Participation in such training is important for all people in a helping profession, to help them understand who they are, develop awareness of their habitual communication patterns and their values, and develop competence in analyzing interpersonal interactions (an activity called "processing").

In the case of foreign student advisers, participation in a human relations training program may be a useful preliminary to participation in intercultural or cross-cultural communication laboratories.

2. Intercultural communication laboratories. These laboratories or workshops are designed to help participants function more comfortably and effectively in intercultural situations. They help clarify personal and cultural assumptions, values, and prejudices that facilitate or impede interpersonal communication in intercultural situations. While there are several multi-ethnic American human relations training laboratories offered by bilingual education programs, human relations training programs for individuals working with foreign students and individuals residing in the United States are few. They are usually conducted for Americans going abroad as Peace Corps volunteers, visiting scholars, A.I.D. personnel and businessmen.

3. Basic helping skills. To be effective in helping relationships, foreign student advisers need to develop basic helping skills. At the same time they should be able to experiment with and determine what kinds of communication skills tend to be more effective with various kinds of students. Brammer (1973) maintains that an effective way of learning helping skills is through microskill training. Microskill training is "an instructional strategy that divides a large category of skills into simple, teachable behavioral components. These skills then can be combined into numerous interview combinations." (p. 70). Lawrence Brammer's (1973) work, *The Helping Relationship: Process and Skills,* is an excellent aid to systematic training that emphasizes self-help approaches. Besides being a nationally-recognized counselor-educator, he has worked intensively with foreign students in many countries. Another excellent help in this area is Allan Ivey's (1968, 1972) work on microcounseling. In his latest edition he has included examples from cross-cultural counseling. Brammer's and Ivey's approaches employ a variety of training techniques, including role-playing, simulation exercises, and the use of audio and video taping.

4. Supervisory/consultation meetings. Two (or more) counselors can meet periodically and take turns discussing (as well as watching videotapes or listening to audio tapes of) their respective clients, and helping each other in identifying and developing effective counseling skills.

In this section we have presented a number of ideas that can be used by people who want to do more or better work in the area of cross-cultural counseling. Many people who might feel called upon to do such work find themselves unable to do it, either because they are too busy to develop the requisite attitudes, knowledge and skills or because they encounter situations that they do not have the capacity to handle. Campus-based foreign student personnel are often in this situation. The next section of this chapter suggests ways of involving others in situations where help in cross-cultural counseling is needed.

Building allies—other helpers to the rescue

In the last 25 years, the number of foreign students in the United States has increased dramatically. International education has become more complex and there has been a proliferation of demands placed on foreign student advisers, who, in order to do their jobs well, are now being asked to be counselors, program managers, international educators, recruiters of volunteers, cross-cultural trainers, immigration specialists, social workers and advocates, to name but a few of their roles. Because of these increased responsibilities, limited funding and limited time, foreign student advisers have been forced to look outside their own offices and seek other helpers in their institutions or communities who are sensitive to cultural differences and sympathetic to the needs of foreign students.

For years, some foreign student advisers have successfully involved counselors, faculty, secretaries, dormitory head residents and other university staff as a team working on behalf of all foreign students. This team-building effort has been improved by involving foreign students as peer helpers, by increasing cooperation between foreign student advisers and counselors, and by better training of volunteers. In this section we will discuss student peers, other counseling professionals and community volunteers as potential "helpers" of foreign students.

Student peer helpers

Although there has always been informal helping of students by students, only recently have foreign student peer helping programs been established on American campuses. The main motif in any foreign student helping program, whether formal or informal, is for foreign and culturally-sensitive American students to assist foreign students who have academic, personal or cultural difficulties.

Formal peer helper programs usually include a training program supervised by a professional, usually a counselor and/or the foreign student adviser. In most cases, peer helpers are either paid or receive academic credit for their work. Components of a good training program include an effort to develop sensitivity to the cultural dynamics of communication, elementary counseling skills, an awareness of the professional counseling available on the campus and within the community, and most importantly, an increased awareness of one's own value orientation. The objective of peer helping is not to provide psychological counseling or therapy, but to help students to learn short-term coping and problem-solving skills.

Informal peer counseling sometimes ensues when advisers seek the participation of volunteers in response to specific situations. Although intermediaries may not be used often, foreign student advisers should know and develop rapport with the informal leaders on campus. For example, when a foreign student experiences academic difficulties and

does not respond to telephone calls or letters from the adviser's office, the adviser might then ask a compatriot of the student to contact the student and encourage him or her to visit the office. Obviously discretion must be used in choosing a helper who can be relied on to maintain confidentiality, and it is not necessary to supply the helper with details about the problem.

Foreign students may have a variety of motivations for acting as peer helpers, and it is helpful for advisers to be aware of those motives. Some students may act out of a feeling of brotherhood or interdependence. Edward T. Hall (1976) writes of "high-context cultures" such as the Arab, Latin American and Mediterranean, where people are generally more involved with one another than they are in such cultures as the Swiss, German and United States cultures, which Hall calls "low-context." People in high-context cultures rely on obtaining assistance from persons they know, rather than on specialists in helping professions. People in low-context cultures are more likely to call on professional helpers. Foreign students elected as officers in their campus nationality clubs may respond to requests to serve as peer counselors because certain obligations are seen as going with the officer's role, including intervening on behalf of students in trouble.

Some cultural backgrounds may lead foreign students who agree to serve as peer helpers to expect special consideration from the foreign student advisers in the future. On the other hand, the foreign student may wish to return a favor to the foreign student adviser and will, therefore, assist where needed.

Foreign student helpers can assist foreign student advisers in judging whether a troubled student's behavior is cultural, personal or situational in origin. On the other hand, foreign students who are in trouble might prefer talking to a stranger rather than risk losing face and status among their compatriots by allowing their difficulties to become known. In any case, other foreign nationals and sensitive American students can be invaluable to the foreign student adviser by providing both direct and indirect involvement with foreign students in trouble and in some instances may be more effective than the adviser in providing help.

Professional counselor

Closer relations between foreign student advisers and staff members in student counseling centers improve the quality of an institution's foreign student program and help both groups acquire knowledge of the other's operating values, attitudes and skills. Counselors benefit by becoming aware of the limitations of the freedom of action of foreign students. These limits include immigration regulations covering full-time study requirements, off-campus work, transferring schools, dropping out of school for health and other reasons, and changes in immigration status. Other important restrictions may be imposed by

foreign students' sponsors, perhaps prohibiting changes of curriculum or institution without prior permission. Knowing about these restrictions is important because counselors who are unaware of them might offer foreign students alternatives that are not in fact open to them.

Foreign student advisers might find value in working more closely with the professional staff of student counseling centers. They could benefit by attending case conferences and hearing about various approaches for helping students. While some of the approaches used in helping American students may be inappropriate with foreign students, the case study method is still a valuable approach to learning because it raises and clarifies issues and encourages thoughtful and creative responses. Foreign student advising offices can use this format for in-service training of staff, peer helpers and volunteers.

Staff exchanges between foreign student advising offices and student counseling centers are not only helpful in the professional and personal development of staff members, but can be useful in the establishment of smooth communication during crisis situations involving foreign students. Few foreign student advisers have either the time or the training to help foreign students who have severe mental problems. This does not mean that advisers can ignore foreign students who may be a danger to themselves or others. However, their role should be facilitative, referring students to trained mental health professionals elsewhere. Even if they refer a client elsewhere, advisers should continue to be involved in the situation by doing such things as checking out health insurance coverage and maintaining links with the students' friends, families, sponsors, academic advisers, and host families. Foreign student advisers should be involved in any decision to send students back to their home countries for treatment.

Closer cooperation between foreign student advisers and counseling center staff might be facilitated by counselors and foreign student advisers observing one another counseling and advising; regular joint case conferences discussing foreign student problems; interns from the counseling center working in foreign student offices; and an appointed liaison person from the counseling center working with the foreign student office.

Community volunteers

Community volunteers, particularly host families, are often more aware than teachers, advisers and compatriots that a foreign student needs help. These volunteers can be invaluable in providing emotional and logistical support for foreign students and their families, and can call serious situations to the attention of foreign student advisers. Many volunteers are as professional and devoted to international educational exchange as the most committed professionals, and these volunteers' skills should not be overlooked.

As new volunteer groups and agencies which deal with crisis intervention and with victims of sexual and physical abuse actively work with the student population, some foreign students may feel threatened by their advocacy approach. Foreign student advisers can volunteer their expertise in cross-cultural matters to these groups and help train volunteers to recognize the similarities and differences between American and foreign student values.

In dealing with volunteers—who may embody values very different from an adviser's—the adviser will find it valuable to employ the same cross-cultural perspective that is needed for dealing with foreign students. Components of this "cross-cultural perspective" include: (a) open-mindedness toward new ideas and experiences, (b) the ability to empathize with people from other cultures, (c) accuracy in perceiving differences and similarities between one's own culture and other cultures, (d) being an astute, noncritical observer of one's own and other people's behavior, (e) the ability to establish meaningful relationships with people of other cultures and (f) reducing one's ethnocentrism (Hammer, 1978).

Conclusion

The distinguishing features of cross-cultural counseling lie in the diverse perceptions, values and behavior which the counselor and counselee bring to the counseling relationship. The effective cross-cultural counselor is able to discern when differences of these kinds are at play in the client's situation and in the counseling relationship itself. The effective cross-cultural counselor will embody attitudes of acceptance, flexibility, patience, creativity, intuition and sensitivity along with skills for differentiating among the descriptive, interpretive and evaluative levels of communication.

Being aware of and pointing out *similarities* in perception, values and behavior is as important as understanding cultural *differences*. The similarities can provide bridges from which to examine the differences. In general, the goal of counseling in cross-cultural situations is not to seek to eliminate cultural differences. Even unconscious (by the counselor) movement in this direction may be greeted with negative feelings, the supposition that the counselor is engaging in "cultural imperialism," and a quick end to the counseling relationship. If the counselor fails to communicate openness and the other attitudes mentioned above, rapport and trust are not likely to develop. The counselee may prefer avoidance to the alternative of frustration and possible confrontation. A fruitful cross-cultural counseling relationship will usually entail a joint exploration of meanings as experienced by the counselee, and a joint effort to find alternative meanings and acceptable alternative behaviors. Cross-cultural counseling has a culture-learning component. The outcome of the interaction will be a sharing of perceptions, values

and communication styles, whether this sharing is consciously intended or not.

Training for cross-cultural counseling is probably necessary if the counselor hopes to have beneficial results. The training we have suggested emphasizes self-designed methods that are applied in a supportive environment. Culture-specific application is more useful, but the conceptual framework, attitudes and basic communication skills can be applied across many cultures. The methods suggested here should be useful to advisers, counselors and paraprofessionals alike.

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3. English language teaching from an intercultural perspective

Stephen C. Dunnett, editor
with Fraida Dubin and Amy Lezberg

English is the most widely taught language in the world today. If we look at the current scene in the field of teaching English as a foreign language, we cannot but be amazed by the numbers of people teaching and learning English as well as by the diversity of settings in which English is taught and learned. English is taught to all age groups in most of the countries, from the most developed to the developing.

While we do not have complete figures on the numbers of people currently studying English worldwide, a random examination of some of the data available provides an indication of the degree of interest in English. In the Soviet Union, for example, there are nearly 50 million students studying English. In the People's Republic of China, an announced education plan in 1980 calls for the training of one million English teachers within the next five years. In Japan, there are some 70,000 English teachers.

In many countries where English is not indigenous, it has remained the *lingua franca*, with or without one of the country's own national languages. This is the case in Nigeria, where English is used for business, education, and politics. In other countries, such as the Philippines, recognition of the ways in which language both reflects and creates cultures has led to a national language policy which would replace English with a national language based upon the major vernacular language of the country, Tagalog. In these countries, however, the learning of English is still perceived as both a means of entry into and symbolic of membership in a national elite. In still other nations, such as Japan and the Republic of China, there is no fear that English will replace the national languages within the country itself. Rather, the learning of English is perceived as the means to advance the economic well-being of the country by enhancing trade possibilites or providing access to advanced technology.

Finally, to take a look at what is happening here in the United States, there are currently some 60,000 foreign students studying English, more than the national enrollment in many of our high school foreign languages. While no complete figures are available for bi-lingual, immigrant, and manpower English training programs, there are estimated to be more than one million non-native speakers enrolled in them.

It is not possible, within the confines of this chapter, to adequately discuss the issues raised by the worldwide teaching of English. Our discussion is limited to the United States in general and to the case of

foreign students studying English for academic purposes in particular. These students are learning English in an American-English speaking country and will use English as a foreign language during the remainder of their lives. They generally study in English language training programs at U.S. colleges and universities. English teaching in such programs is usually called the teaching of English as a foreign language (TEFL). (The term "teaching of English as a second language" [TESL] is usually used when referring to students who intend to remain permanently in an English-speaking environment.) Most English as a foreign language (EFL) students intend to use their proficiency in English for instrumental purposes—to read textbooks, to write term papers, to understand lectures, etc. In short, they are learning English in order to be able to compete with American students in a program of higher education. Most typically they live for some years in the United States attending a college or university. They may spend an additional period of time in this country gaining practical experience through employment in their fields of specialization. But they plan ultimately to return to their own countries, where English is used as a foreign language. Throughout their lives, English will serve as a means of communication: for reading, for writing informal correspondence and professional papers and for interacting with counterparts of different nationalities both at home and abroad.

Learning English from an intercultural perspective can help this group in various ways: (1)by helping them acquire the understanding that their own society or culture represents one pattern of living among many; (2) by helping them learn to distinguish some of the more subtle characteristics of the host culture—in this case, the American one; and (3)by helping them gain an understanding of how people of other cultures attempt to communicate, both verbally and non-verbally.

For many, the intercultural experience comes about informally, through contact with other foreign students on the campus of their college or university. Students who come to American institutions with insufficient preparation in the English language are usually required to complete courses in various language skills such as spoken English, reading, writing and English for academic purposes. The intercultural exposure occurs naturally—though unsystematically—when students mix with others in their classes.

At first hearing, the need to point out the relationship between intercultural communication and language teaching appears to be redundant. Isn't all language so tied to culture that the two cannot be separated? How can the learning of a new language be accomplished without acquiring some insights into the customs and beliefs of people who speak that language? At the same time, doesn't mere exposure to a new language give learners an opportunity to gain insights into their own first language and culture?

Although "language and culture are not separable in reality" (Walsh, 1979), the intercultural experience does not necessarily take place in all second language classrooms. Gaining an intercultural perspective during the language learning process can most easily be accomplished when there is specific attention paid to significant elements in both the first and second language-culture. In a second language course, an intercultural focus can be part of the view held by the instructor and/or it can be inherent in the materials. Both of these possiblities will be elaborated upon in what follows.

This chapter on English language instruction and intercultural communication first expands on the characteristics and backgrounds of foreign students learning English in the U.S. Learners in English language courses come from a wide variety of backgrounds; they do not all have the same assumptions and expectations about what it means to learn a new language, nor what it means to live and study in a foreign culture.

Following this discussion about EFL learners, we look at the teacher's perspective on EFL instruction.

Next, we describe some of the techniques and materials which are currently used in those English language classes where explicit intercultural instruction is offered. Examples of curricula from a few such courses are given. Then, the discussion turns to the implicit aspects of intercultural communication. Since it is true that all language conveys elements of culture, it is impossible to omit a covert display of culture in English language instruction. This section points out some criteria for evaluating the culture sensitivity quotient of textbooks and other materials utilized in EFL or English as a second language (ESL) classes.

Next, some current issues in language teaching and intercultural communication are discussed. Problems connected with curriculum revision, teacher training and professional development are analyzed.

Finally, the authors offer some recommendations for strengthening the intercultural perspective in English language teaching programs, and some guidelines for the selection of materials with an intercultural perspective.

Learner's perspective

In the past, the majority of foreign students who came to the United States were from Western Europe. Since the 1960's there has been an increased transfer of technology from the West to the developing nations. The result of this along with factors such as political and social unrest in many places has been a tremendous influx of foreign students from the developing world. The majority of these students and scholars are from nonwestern countries with divergent cultural backgrounds and experiences. The three nations with the most foreign students in the United States are Iran, Taiwan, and Nigeria. Of the 15 countries send-

ing the largest number of students to the United States today, all but two (Canada and Great Britain) are developing nations.

As a result, EFL teachers today find the great majority of students in their classrooms are speakers of non-Indo-European languages. Furthermore, the world view of most traditional cultures from which EFL students come is quite different from and in many cases incompatible with that of most middle-class U.S. citizens.

But EFL students may not reflect the traditional cultures of their homelands very accurately. Since the majority of these students are studying scientific and technical subjects, they themselves may be in conflict with their traditional cultural values. Not only is there often a cultural conflict due to their study in technical and scientific fields, but there are also conflicts between language learning goals and other educational goals. Foreign students come to the United States to study in highly specialized technical programs designed to produce, for instance, good engineers, and not necessarily designed to produce competent speakers of English.

Thus, each group of foreign students presents a number of constraints which influence the goals, objectives, methods of teaching and materials being incorporated in English language programs.

The characteristics of the incoming groups of foreign students needing language training impose a tremendous restriction on the students and the language centers which train them. The time and money available to accomplish the programs' goals are often limited and are carefully calculated by sponsors and home country governments. So the students whom the EFL teacher confronts will have differing goals and expectations as well as different attitudes toward the English language and American culture. These expectations and attitudes are dependent not only upon the students' individual personalities but also upon the reasons that English is, for their country, a language to be learned. Their motivation may be primarily instrumental and they may, therefore, perceive English as a means whereby they can increase their earning power or achieve access to hitherto unavailable documents and research. On the other hand, their motivation may be integrative and they may see English as a means for them to affiliate with a particular home country group that is defined at least partly by its knowledge of English.

Just as the students' motives for learning English as a foreign language vary, so too do their expectations of what constitutes English language learning. Many of the students come from educational systems where fifty or more students listen attentively as one teacher demonstrates and uses English. The U.S. emphasis upon student-initiated discussion and classroom participation will be difficult for such students to adopt. Many students come from cultures where great formality is maintained between teachers and students. When faced with

the informality of the U.S. EFL classroom and released from the restraint of their accustomed formality, they may adopt a totally casual style. This casual style in the classroom may manifest itself in the students' commenting upon the performance of the instructor as well as that of other students. Facing a system in which active rather than passive learning is given primacy may mislead these students into thinking that there is no structure to be adhered to. Teachers find themselves suppressing these students as they try to entice the more culturally reticent students to participate.

Teacher's perspective

Whether at a beginning or a more advanced level, our students bring into the EFL classroom their perception of the world, which has been reflected in and to some extent formed by their first language. A frequent lament of EFL students, for example, is their lack of vocabulary to express a key concept. Often, discussion reveals that it is not only the student but the English language itself which lacks a simple lexical equivalent for the concept. Similarly, the English lexicon contains many words which will have no simple equivalent in the student's native language. Here words and concepts provide useful foci for the introduction of intercultural elements into the EFL classroom. For example, the definition of "pet" as a domesticated household animal to students in whose language the word/concept does not exist is inadequate preparation for the barrage of media advertisements and American student conversations which reveal an apparent obsession with pets.

Yet the possibilities for intercultural misunderstanding in such an instance are infinitely less than those which arise when concepts which can be translated denotatively have opposite connotations in two cultures. Take a major American theme, "self-reliance." In the United States, self-reliance has a positive value, related both to the pioneer spirit of our early history and the do-it-yourself movement of today. An EFL course that somehow neglects to tie in today's fads with the themes which have been dominant in the formation of the American character can increase, rather than eliminate, intercultural misunderstandings. EFL teachers can be far more effective if they are aware of cultural differences of this kind, differences that are more than linguistic.

Intercultural sensitivity in the EFL classroom also implies an awareness of the students' value systems. Students arriving in the United States may hope that they will be required to learn only as much English as is needed to study their major field. Fifty percent of the foreign students in the U.S., however, enroll in undergraduate programs. The institutions at which they matriculate will therefore require them to obtain sufficient proficiency in the four skills of language learning—listening, speaking, reading and writing—to compete successfully with American undergraduates.

In attempting to teach students these four skills, the EFL teacher may discover major cultural differences in students' interest and proficiency in each of them. For example, students from the Arab world, which highly values oral communication, are likely to excel in the debates and discussions of the conversation class but to read and write poorly. Iranian students, coming from a culture in which reading is not a usual activity, may have some difficulties coping with the heavy reading requirements of the American university. For many students, rote learning rather than the synthesis of materials is the norm. An introduction to the American university's study habits, including use of the library and test-taking skills, is therefore a cultural as well as an academic experience.

Many of the students coming from nations where friendship implies sharing of everything will need to be taught that cooperation among friends both before and during examinations will be considered cheating and cause for dismissal at an American university.

But if the learners' expectations cause them problems at the American university, so may the institution's own expectations be unrealistic. It may expect the English language training program to produce students who, in less than one year, are virtually indistinguishable in their English language proficiency from native speakers of American English. The unaccustomed sound of such varieties of English as Nigerian English, Indian English or Jamaican English may mislead faculty into underestimating not only the language proficiency but also the general intellectual sophistication and attainments of foreign students. An important issue involves the degree to which we have the right to expect such students—who will return to countries where their variety of English is the correct one—to adopt American English. It is likely that such a problem will be self-limiting, for there are indications that students acquire only as much proficiency in English as is necessary to achieve their own goals, and that those errors which do not interfere with the attainment of their goals remain fossilized within their use of the language.

Because many of the points at which culturally diverse students seem to encounter problems within an American university appear to be language problems, the EFL teacher is often the person who deals with the implications of the presence of foreign students. In many small institutions and even in some larger ones the student body, except for the foreign students, is essentially homogeneous. When foreign students "do not seem to know what is expected of them" in the laboratory, lecture hall or seminar, language rather than cultural barriers is blamed. In such instances, EFL teachers need all their intercultural communications skills and sensitivity to mediate between the expectations of the students and those of the institution. Such teachers can increase the cultural awareness of the faculty by keeping them informed of the

students' backgrounds. In small institutions, they may also be the ones to encourage and arrange social and academic interaction between native speakers and EFL students. EFL instructors and program administrators, by their choice of materials and by the development of a curriculum which includes an intercultural communication component, can help reduce those tensions which might otherwise accompany the meeting of representatives of diverse cultures.

Foreign students have been described as links between cultures (Eide, 1970), functioning as channels of communication through which messages pass. It seems to us that EFL programs function as filters between foreign students and the host countries, since they provide students with the very first opportunities to contact not only the language of the host country, but also its culture. It is apparent from our earlier discussion that these culturally and linguistically distinct students (channels) cannot be dealt with in a substantial and proper way unless such factors as their attitudes toward the host country, their social patterns, their norms and, most important of all, their languages, are taken into account.

Needless to say, EFL teachers and EFL programs inevitably face a great deal of difficulty in helping their students to adjust to the new culture and at the same time to learn to use the new language which is supposed to become their means of communication.

Teaching English to foreign students is a very demanding profession, because EFL/ESL specialists have to make every effort to overcome all sorts of conflict which may occur in the course of their teaching. We have attempted to illustrate that conflicts may be either of a linguistic or cultural nature. To put it differently, the prime objective of EFL programs is not merely linguistic competence but communicative competence, or what might be called intercultural communicative competence. To help students attain that competence, EFL teachers must have an awareness not just of their students' native languages but of their cultural backgrounds as well.

Techniques

Implementation of an intercultural perspective within an English language program can be made explicit by setting up courses or activities that focus on culture-related themes. At the same time, an intercultural view inevitably will be implicit in the materials utilized for instructional purposes. But beyond these explicit and implicit means of teaching intercultural communicative competence, the vital element which gives language courses a tone of cultural understanding is the teachers' own attitudes toward their students' backgrounds as well as toward the materials utilized. This section will consider these several ways in which teachers deal with intercultural communication in English language teaching.

No matter how intercultural attitudes come into an EFL course, all of those professionals concerned—teachers and administrators—must possess certain basic understandings about language and culture. If they have this awareness, the programs they plan, the courses they create, the syllabi they construct and the materials they write can foster an intercultural point of view.

Some of the most basic of these understandings are as follows: (1)Languages cannot be translated word-for-word. All languages have idiomatic expressions which carry connotations that are above and beyond the meanings of the separate words themselves. (2)The tone of a speaker's voice (the intonation pattern) carries meaning. All languages have different "tunes" or patterns of intonation. Similarly, the degree of loudness/softness used by speakers is a characteristic of the language itself. (3)Each language-culture employs gestures and body movements which convey meaning. Gesture and body movements are not necessarily the same for all languages. (4) We also understand that languages use different grammatical elements for describing events in the physical world, such as distance and time. Languages place varying degrees of emphasis on temporal events; however, all languages possess mechanisms for describing all parts of the physical world. (5) All cultures have taboo topics. Part of knowing a language is knowing what one can and cannot say to whom on what occasions. (6) In personal relationships, the terms for addressing people vary considerably among languages. Even in informal American culture, there are commonly agreed-upon rules indicating when people are addressed by their first name and when they are called by a title such as Mrs., Mr., or Dr.

The most explicit format for presenting these and other intercultural elements in English language programs is through courses designated as "Intercultural Communication" or "Intercultural Conversation." It is useful to describe how such courses have been presented in the past. Teachers, of course, will want to adapt these suggestions to their own particular settings. One successful plan for an intercultural communication course includes participation by American students. In some cases, the Americans receive academic credit for their contribution to the group. In others, the EFL institute, center or department recruits Americans through work-study or similar programs, or through "freshman English" classes. American volunteers may also be graduate students enrolled in masters' programs in TEFL/TESL. Usually, American participants are required to do outside reading in the field and to attend periodic meetings with the course coordinator.

Criteria for selecting the American student-facilitators include factors such as sensitivity to the language learning problems of foreign students, an active interest in exploring and understanding cultural differences in a nonjudgmental way, experience in group discussion leadership and, above all, a friendly, open manner with people from other cultures.

At some large universities that have a high enrollment of foreign students, the intercultural program is part of a 25-hour per week intensive English program. Students enrolled at this level typically score between 300-400 on the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) and are ranked as low intermediates. The intercultural class meets for two hours a week with a coordinator. The enrollment in each section is approximately 12-15 foreign students and four to five American students. A feature of the so-called class is that it does not meet in a classroom. Considerable effort is made to secure a comfortable, home-like meeting place.

At the beginning of the semester, the coordinator decides on a list of conversation topics. Possible topics included Parents and Children; Getting Older/Getting Old; Divorce: American Style; The Largest Minority: Women; Drugs and Society; Childhood Fantasies; Stereotypes; Personal and Public Behavior; Gestures and Non-Verbal Communication; Interpersonal Sharing; and City Life and Its Problems.

For each topic the coordinators write a set of questions to focus students' attention on the cross-cultural aspect of the issue. For example in the discussion on parents and children the following points were brought up:

In your country:
When do people become adults?
When do people move away from their parents' home?
What conflicts do parents have with children?
What conflicts do children have with parents?

In this particular discussion, one of the important insights for the American facilitators was that the topic itself held the built-in message for Americans that somehow conflict between generations is to be expected. This was not always the case for other cultures.

Intercultural themes also can be the basis for spoken English in classes where one of the course objectives is to foster freer communication. A variety of techniques have been developed through which to present structured communication activities that ensure everyone's taking part in the discussion. For example, the following procedure for conducting a class discussion on the topic of stereotypes has been successful (adapted from Batchelder and Warner, 1977):

1. Students list four or five stereotypes or preconceived ideas they had before coming to the United States about life in the United States and/or in other countries represented in the group.

2. The facilitator writes these stereotype statements on the blackboard or distributes them on a handout at the next class meeting.

3. The facilitator leads discussion by mentioning stereotypical statements English speakers often make about other languages, e.g.,

"French is for romance, German is gutteral, Italian sounds like music."

4. Each group represented responds to the stereotypes that others have of them. Discuss the sources of the stereotypes about life in the U.S. and elsewhere. "Where did you hear that?..."

Presenting a problem for students to solve is a particularly effective technique for evoking discussion about cultural differences. Participants read or hear briefly about a real-life problem. The problem should illustrate the topic or theme of the discussion. The problem can be set out quite elaborately with a number of points to discuss. Or, the lesson can be done by simply offering alternate endings to the story. The discussion then centers on deciding which solution to adopt.

An example of a problem-solving situation is the lifeboat scene: the descriptive paragraph gives biographical details concerning eight to ten individuals who have survived a catastrophe and are now in a lifeboat. But there is only food and water for so many days. Or, there are only life jackets for so many people. The writer, of course, is free to create dramatic elements that sustain interest, always remaining within the language capabilities of the participants. The problem in this case is: Who should be allowed to survive?

Another technique is called the "culture assimilator." In this approach, an incident containing a misunderstanding between a non-native speaker of English and an American is described. Then there are questions which embody varying interpretations coming from culturally different points of view. The students choose the statement that they think most accurately interprets the event. They then look to see if their interpretation is the correct one. If it is not, they are told why it is not, and then are asked to try again.

The process of brainstorming is a freer format through which to discuss cross-cultural themes while, at the same time, the participants are gaining practice in using the new language. Sound materials for cross-cultural discussions should be constructed with the learners' language abilities in mind. Vocabulary lists are always extremely helpful.

Among additional techniques are the following: (1) The role play: Students take on the parts of typical members of host and native cultures. (2) Value hierarchies: Students put random lists of items into a preferred order. For example, the most important/prestigious/valued professions are _____. (3) Compare and contrast: Students fill in blanks with their choice. For example, Who is responsible for the following household tasks in your country? mother/father/both parents/servant/children/no one.

In using each one of these techniques, it is vital that a full and open discussion take place following the activity.

An effective technique for stimulating cross-cultural introspection is the use of personal journals in conjunction with the intercultural communication class. Since this type of writing gives the language learner more freedom, students often experience their own understanding of the cross-cultural element in a class discussion when they reflect on the session while writing up their reactions and feelings in a weekly journal report.

A final example of an explicit technique is the lecture-discussion format. Often offered as a credit-bearing course about American culture, it can serve multiple purposes: (1)The course creates a context through which students strengthen their skills in listening comprehension, note-taking, examination writing, etc. (2)The course serves as a bridge between the EFL program and regular classes in the university. (3)When presented by a skilled lecturer, the course can focus on cross-cultural themes.

Topics included in the syllabus for such a course could include the following (American Language Institute, 1979):

1. The United States—The Melting Pot Society
—diagram of American ethnicity
—emphasize the melting pot idea—has it succeeded?
—discuss "mainstream America"

2. Mexican Culture
—attitudes of and toward Mexican-Americans
—Spanish and Mexican influences in many parts of the U.S.

3. Blacks in America
—attitudes of and toward
—Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights movement
—Uncle Tom's Cabin excerpt/short stories written by Black Americans

4. Native Americans
—contributions of
—Indian folk stories
—American Indians as depicted by films

5.Religion in American
—attitude toward
—different kinds
—effects on culture
—cults and organized religion

6. Women in America
—contributions of
—attitudes of and toward
—ERA and anti-abortionists
—anti-abortionists

7. The American Family
—structure
—values
—level of closeness
—dependence/independence

8. American Customs
—multiplicity of

9. The American Character
—stereotypes
—myths
—various types

10. Big Cities vs. Small Towns
—ways and attitudes

11. American Business
—how does it affect relations and attitudes?
—commercialization: Christmas and Easter

12. Pop Culture
—poetry
—abstract painting/Andy Warhol's "Campbell Soup Can"
—rock music
—disco music

13. American Attitudes
—toward themselves
—toward the world

14. A View from the Outside
—looking at the arts and literature from abroad, how are Americans viewed in other countries?

Materials

Most if not all of the materials used in language teaching convey cultural biases. These materials implicitly communicate attitudes concerning the culture of the target language and the learner's native language-culture. It is possible to find materials for English language teaching which encourage an intercultural point of view. They treat culture-related themes from at least two contrasting perspectives. We can designate them as two-dimensional materials.

But it is more often the case that typical English language instructional materials communicate cultural messages from a one-dimensional view. Social scientists point out that it is as impossible to escape from one's own culture as it is to get out of one's own skin. So, it is probably to be expected that textbook writers continually convey

culture-bound ideas in at least every other exercise of each lesson. More often than not it is up to the instructor to alter materials to express a two-dimensional or multi-dimensional outlook.

In order to realize the implicit cultural message in almost all language teaching materials, it is helpful to separate out what has been called cultural habits and customs—elements that are broadly recognized as not being universally the same—from the less transparent themes. The following aspects of American culture are frequently reflected implicitly in English language instructional materials (Kraemer, 1973).

—Individualism: The belief that each person is a distinct entity and ought to assert and achieve independence from others.
—Egalitarianism: The belief that all human beings are equal in their intrinsic worth.
—Action orientation: Doing is more important than being.
—Perception of interpersonal encounters primarily in terms of their immediate utility and downgrading of the social significance of such encounters.
—Universalism: The value attached to being guided in one's action in a given situation primarily by an obligation to society (i.e., by general standards of conduct—laws, regualtions, rules, established procedures, etc.).
—Definition of persons (including oneself) in terms of their work and their achievements.
—The belief that the collective wisdom of the group is superior to that of any individual.
—The idea that the process of decision making requires evaluation of the consequences of alternative courses of action, and selection of the one that, on balance, seems most advantageous.
—The belief that competition is a good way to motivate people.
—The idea that there is usually a best way of doing something, which should be determined and then followed.
—The idea that knowledge gained through observation is superior to knowledge gained in other ways.
—Unnecessary qualification: The tendency to quantify aspects of experience.
—Placing a higher value on utilitarian aspects of experience than on aesthetic ones.
—Problem orientation: The tendency to perceive "proble s" in the world and in one's existence in it, and to look for "solutions."
—The belief that thought cannot directly influence events.
—Reasoning in terms of probability.
—Impatience: The tendency to be annoyed by the pace of activities, if it is slow by one's own standard.
—The tendency to make comparative judgments.

—The willingness to offer one's services for the benefit of the "common good."
—The belief in the existence of a behavior pattern called "self help."
—The use of absurd suppositions to communicate ideas or to elicit ideas from other persons.

One way by which to evaluate the culture sensitivity quotient of English language texts is to view them in the light of this list of American culture characteristics. To what degree does the language in the text reflect deep aspects of the culture of the target language? In order to answer this question, one must analyze the text in terms of what people in the book say and do. In typical beginners' level materials, stick or cartoon figures introduce themselves. (My name is _____. What's yours?) They talk about their possessions. (Is this your hat? Yes, it's mine.) They locate objects. (Where's your raincoat? It's in your bedroom.) They indicate their likes and dislikes. (Do you like carrots? Do you like chocolates? Do you like bananas?) They talk about the time of day. (Excuse me. What time is it? It's one o'clock.) They buy and sell things. (What's she buying? She's buying a banana.) They talk about their occupation. (This is Mr. Jenkins. He's a postman.) They talk about their recreational activities. (Jim likes skating. What does Mary like? She likes skiing.) (Mellgren & Walker, 1973).

The examples are not meant to match exactly with the list of culture characteristics. However, even the most superficial scanning of standard language texts, particularly those at the beginning of elementary level, indicate a strong motif of deeper American culture themes, with few opportunities to introduce a two-dimensional view unless the teacher injects a question such as: "This is what Americans do. What do you do?" Or, "This is the American view. What is your view?"

It is important for the teacher who wants to stress culture themes in the language course to evaluate materials carefully. As an example of the kind of elements teachers need to be aware of, we next look at three different texts designed for reading, writing, and discussion practice at the intermediate and advanced levels. In these three texts, it is possible to trace different approaches to the elucidation of intercultural themes.

A text which encourages and stimulates an intercultural approach is *Living Language: USA Culture Capusles for ESL Students* (Johnson, 1979). In the introduction, the author states:

> The purpose of these capsules is not to teach you one specific way of thinking about any particular aspect of United States culture. Rather, they are designed to help you analyze different areas of culture in the United States and compare them with your native language... The capsules do not attempt to make any value judgments with regard to U.S. culture. You may make these judgments for yourself after some investigations and thinking of your own.

In this book, the author treats the following topics in "culture capsule" lessons: unemployment, singles' life, shopping, education, urban development, divorce, family unity, racism and the position of women.

A somewhat different and a provocative approach to learning about and from cultural differences is presented in another text, *Points of View* (Pifer and Mutoh, 1977). With this book the instructor must bring out the intercultural possibilities in the materials, since the intercultural emphasis is not as explicit as it is in Johnson's book. Using case studies for analysis and problem solving, the authors give students and instructors the following comments:

> *Reflecting on individual and cultural values.* All decisions in these case studies, as in real life, are based on peoples' frames of values. These activities cause students consciously to consider their own values. In bi- or multi-cultural groups, this presents an excellent occasion for cross-cultural learning.

A third text is a good example of a one-dimensional approach. *Read On, Speak Out* (Ferreira and Vaie, 1979) also encourages students to read, think and discuss topics of current interest to educated adults. In this text, though, the orientation is strongly towards an American point of view. For example, in Lesson Six, "Gray Power: It's *In* to Be Old," the title tells us something about the value system of Americans today. Contained in the lesson are readings and discussion questions concerned with the United States older population: The gray revolution. Changing U.S. population trends. Prejudice towards older people in jobs. Problems of the retired. Is there life after 65? What's it like to be free, gray and over 65? Should workers be forced to retire at age 65?

In the final section, "In your opinion," students answer two questions about the entire six pages of text regarding attitudes in their own countries towards older people. From the point of view of an instructor who wants to emphasize an intercultural point of view in a reading/discussion course, this text would be less appropriate than either of the two mentioned above because it is heavily weighted towards cultural attitudes in the U.S.

Teachers who are sensitive to an intercultural approach would probably be successful using any of these materials if they did a great deal of adapting, changing and augmenting. For it is true that an intercultural ethos can be brought into any classroom when teachers stop to consider their students' values and attitudes toward topics under discussion. Similarly, in less advanced classes, the teacher can inject a two-dimensional view towards the subjects and topics practiced in drill and exercises. But some teachers still express concern over where they should place emphasis. What should receive the most attention? They ask, "How can there be time to deal with culture when students must pass examinations, gain entrance into degree programs and get ready to find jobs in an English-speaking community?"

Those teachers who do spend some time with intercultural themes usually find real satisfaction in their experiences with students. They say that they find they themselves learn as much as their students. Above all, they feel that their own lives have been enriched when they listen to their students' point of view.

Issues and implications

The implementation of an intercultural perspective or approach within an English language program raises several issues and has implications for EFL program administrators and teachers.

To implement an intercultural approach would require some curricular revision for most EFL programs, which in practice devote the major portion of their instructional time to the four basic language skills. This immediately gives rise to several curricular issues.

The first issue is how much of the core curriculum can be devoted to the teaching of culture. Or, in the case where the teaching of culture is integrated with language materials and methodology, to what degree can culture learning be successfully integrated? It is often difficult to convince many EFL teachers that the teaching of culture is not a secondary goal. Given the time constraints that EFL teachers face, it is understandable that they might view the integration of culture learning as interfering with basic English language teaching. In such situations it might be best to present intercultural elements in separate courses similar to those we described earlier in this chapter.

Whether cultural instruction is integrated or taught separately, it is important that it not be approached in a haphazard manner. Intercultural activities and courses must be given the same importance in the curriculum as all other language activities. If this is not done students will consider intercultural activities as secondary to language instruction and teachers will, even in an integrated approach, give only passing attention to cultural components.

Curricular coordinators should make every effort to relate cultural topics to appropriate language learning activities while controlling vocabulary and grammar content. A detailed, long-range instructional plan should be developed incorporating carefully selected cultural topics or items with assigned dates and contact hours. If an integrated approach is chosen, EFL program administrators should provide their teachers with an instructional plan or syllabus and suggested strategies for teaching about culture.

The implementation of an intercultural approach in EFL teaching requires not only a re-examination of traditional EFL program curricula but also the content of teacher training programs. Although many EFL teachers in the field are sensitive to issues of intercultural communication and have received professional training in this area, there are

teachers who come to the field with different professional backgrounds. Some are former foreign language teachers, others are secondary or elementary school teachers, and still others have little or no formal training.

TEFL training programs are providing a good preparation in theoretical backgrounds to second language teaching, applied linguistics, and in-class practice teaching, but very little in the way of intercultural training. The contemporary EFL teacher requires a thorough background in comparative/contrastive analysis (especially in non-Indo-European analysis) and cultural anthropology in order to deal competently with today's diverse student population. In addition to training students for appropriate linguistic performance, EFL teachers must also make their students aware of the proper linguistic performance in diverse types of intercultural settings.

The sophisticated EFL teacher, while introducing foreign students to some aspects of American culture, must also encourage students to maintain their own cultural identity. To achieve this, the teacher must be trained to talk about cultural relativism as well as the universality of certain components shared by different cultures. The teacher should guide cultural discussions so that they do not become judgmental and lead to conclusions that some cultures are superior or inferior.

Students in TEFL training programs should be provided with opportunities to gain culture-teaching experience by working closely with foreign students and other non-native speakers from the very beginning of their degree programs. They should also be required to observe experienced teachers in their classrooms. Additional practical experience may be gained by volunteer service in foreign student advisers' offices, international living centers and other student service offices. Finally, student teachers should be encouraged to study a non-Indo-European language to gain better appreciation of the problems of foreign students from non-Western countries.

If it is not possible to add a specific course in intercultural communications or comparative cultures to the TEFL training program, student teachers should be strongly encouraged to participate in workshops or training sessions organized on other campuses, such as the Stanford Institute in Applied Intercultural Communication that is held every summer.

Finally, TEFL training program administrators should assist their students in the ultimate intercultural training experience—teaching or studying abroad.

For EFL teachers already in the field it may not be possible to engage in the types of academic training activities we have just described. They can, however, receive in-service professional training through participation in a number of professional associations such as the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL); NAFSA's profes-

sional section for English as a second language teachers, called the Association of Teachers of English as a Second Language (ATESL); Foreign Language Teachers Association; and the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR).

Through subscriptions to the journals and other publications of these professional associations and attendance at their regional and national workshops and conferences, EFL teachers can obtain valuable in-service training.

Through NAFSA's Field Service Program, EFL teachers may apply for special in-service training grants to visit postsecondary institutions or related community organizations. Grantees may observe day-to-day operations, activities and classes of established EFL institutes and programs. In-service training grants cover modest expenses of such visits to confer with EFL colleagues and explore ideas which may prove applicable for use in one's own setting. It is our hope that through the curricular modification of both EFL programs and EFL teacher training programs to add an intercultural perspective, we shall enable our students to achieve true communicative competence in English.

Recommendations for strengthening the intercultural perspective in EFL programs

All EFL training programs, in order to strengthen their intercultural perspective, should strive to implement the following recommendations:

1. Hire teachers with a strong background in comparative analysis, and/or comparative cultures and/or training in intercultural communications.
2. All other qualifications being equal, give preference to EFL teachers with overseas training experience and familiarity with non-Indo-European languages.
3. Provide in-service training opportunities in intercultural communications for teachers currently on staff.
4. Provide an orientation each semester to both faculty and staff on linguistic and cultural backgrounds of current student population in EFL programs.
5. Integrate intercultural education with language instruction through carefully designed syllabi.
6. Select EFL materials which encourage an intercultural point of view.
7. Develop specific strategies for teaching culture in the English program.
8. Establish a specific course to focus on culture-related topics.
9. Provide students with a comprehensive program of extracurricular activities such as excursions, tours, lectures, films, conversation

groups led by American students, a sports program, and a homestay with an American family.

10. Establish programs to help break down the ghettoization of foreign students which may take place in the university residence halls.

Guidelines for the selection of materials with an intercultural perspective

As stated earlier in this chapter, there are no perfect textbooks which completely and successfully integrate language instruction with cultural components. However, EFL teachers can improve upon textbook selection by following these guidelines:

1. Examine each new textbook carefully to determine whether it takes an intercultural point of view.
2. Try to identify the cultural aspects inherent in the textbook and list them by chapter or units. Are they positive or negative? Mixed?
3. Examine the exercises carefully. Determine if they will assist you in drawing students into intercultural activities.
4. Check to see if the vocabulary items, examples, grammer structures, drills, etc., are placed in some meaningful cultural context.
5. Examine photographs and illustrations, if any, to see if they are culturally related.
6. Carefully examine dialogues, if any, for their cultural content.
7. Go back and re-examine those textbooks which take a strong intercultural point of view for possible cultural bias. Are they objective? Do they stereotype or overgeneralize about U.S. or foreign cultures?

Conclusion

Most practitioners in international educational interchange believe that intercultural experiences have beneficial results for individual participants and, over time, for their respective societies. Studying and living abroad are seen as ways of fostering broadmindedness, tolerance, and the ability to deal constructively with people who are different. These attributes are seen as increasingly necessary in a world where international interactions and mutual dependencies are growing in scope and importance. For EFL students in the U.S., these attributes can be fostered by EFL teachers who embody them, who use materials that focus attention on them, and who use techniques that help their students learn them. It is our hope that readers of this chapter have found it helpful in providing ideas for EFL teachers and administrators who want to bring culture learning to the EFL classroom.

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4. Cross-cultural training

Margaret D. Pusch, editor
with Alexander Patico, George W. Renwick
and Carol Saltzman

"Training" may suggest a method for patterning an animal's behavior, building self-sufficiency into a toddler's toilet habits or making a cowlick stay put. What it should also suggest is a practical and engrossing departure from dry, static approaches to helping people learn and grow.

Underlying the various programs and practices which come under the rubric "cross-cultural training" are several generally shared assumptions:

1. that cross-cultural experience is complex, problematic and stressful to the individual;

2. that we are relatively unaware of our cultural identities, and have difficulty in understanding the impact of culture on human relations; and

3. that people can change their behaviors and attitudes and grow in knowledge and skills.

This last assumption implies that, although some people are better equipped than others to handle unfamiliar opportunities and demands, most can be helped to become more capable of coping, integrating and adapting. It is the purpose of this chapter to provide a substantive introduction and guide to people who have some degree of responsibility for providing that help.

Since the first clearly identifiable cross-cultural training program only thirty years ago, some 20,000 such programs have been offered. While the activity itself is based on characteristically U.S. assumptions and modes of education, a serious attempt has been made to begin finding the ways in which the concepts and techniques can be universalized for a wide range of locations and with a wide range of cultural groups. To date, at least 72 countries have seen cross-cultural training programs of some type.

Training of the sort discussed here can be distinguished from other educational and human development activities. It is usually conducted within a limited time-frame. It may last from a half-day to a semester, but most commonly is one to ten days in duration.

Cross-cultural training programs, in their purposes and outcomes, are tied to events and processes that individuals are experiencing and may find puzzling or distressing. Some of these processes are transitions such as those involved in preparing to enter or leave a new culture. Other situations, like that which confronts an American professor teaching foreign students, may be ongoing or cyclical in nature.

Cross-cultural training is trainee-centered. The objective is the development of each trainee's own capabilities—not, as the old folk saying goes, to give him a meal of fish but to teach him to fish and supply his own table over a lifetime.

Individuals who participate in training programs have a variety of motivations for doing so. Some may want to acquire information to help them accomplish the main purpose of their stay, for example, completing a degree, without extensive contact with host country people. Others may be interested in a more radical and thoroughgoing assimilation of host country values and customs than even the trainer finds comfortable. These motives are often overlooked. Though the trainer provides a structure and agenda, professional ethics demand that the trainee's wishes and ideas be respected and considered.

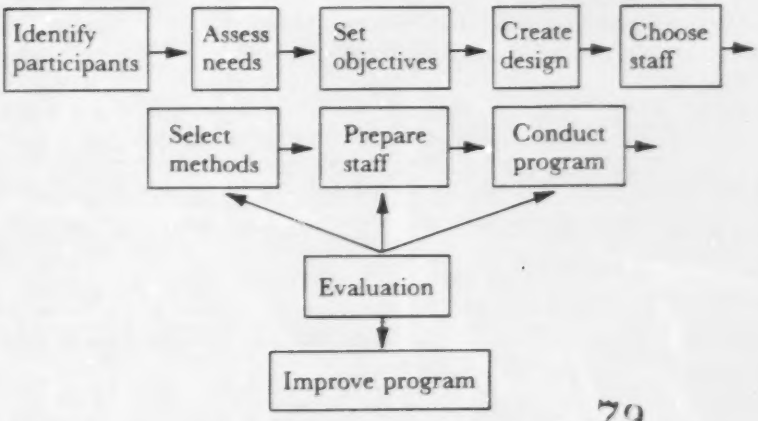
Training programs may differ in the degree to which they focus on a specific target culture, compare and contrast two or more cultures, or treat intercultural communication as a generalizable process. In any case, the purpose of a cross-cultural training program is to provide a *functional awareness* of the cultural dynamic present in intercultural relations and assist trainees in becoming more *effective* in cross-cultural situations. Therefore, learning must occur at more than an intellectual level and skills must be practiced so they become a practical resource for the trainees.

Steps in planning a training program

Careful planning is necessary to insure that a cross-cultural training program is effective and that the trainer is able to move into and through the program with confidence. The steps in the planning process, as shown in Figure 1, are explained briefly in this section.

Identifying participants and selecting kind of training program

Figure 1. Steps in planning a cross-cultural training program.



The first step in planning any training program is to determine for whom the training is to be done. Participants in cross-cultural training have ranged from diplomats debating in the United Nations to lawyers interviewing minority clients, from U.S. business executives negotiating contracts in Saudi Arabia to VISTA volunteers working on a Navaho Reservation. In this chapter we are primarily interested in two kinds of participants, both of whom are involved in international educational interchange: students and faculty members who are in transition from one culture to another, and the variety of individuals with whom they come in contact.

Identifying the potential participants and understanding their circumstances, frustrations and aspriations is especially important in cross-cultural training. Armed with this information, the trainer can choose the most appropriate kind of training program, conduct a needs assessment, formulate the objective of the program, create the program design, choose the appropriate staff, select the most promising training methods, and conduct a stimulating and useful program.

Considered first are the students and faculty members who are in transition from one culture to another. They leave their home cultures, go through the process of adjusting to a new culture, and then return home, where they must readjust to their own cultures. (This complex process of adjustment and readjustment is discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.) Four different kinds of training programs are appropriate at different points in the transition process.

1. *Predeparture programs.* The purpose of predeparture programs is to provide participants with specific information on living, working, and studying in the new country, and with specific guidelines on what to expect and what to take with them.

2. *Orientation programs.* The purpose of orientation programs is helping participants clarify their personal and professional objectives and learn ways to achieve those objectives. This includes recognizing their own abilities and how they can be applied in a new cultural environment, learning how to find and use the resources they need, planning specific actions to take upon arrival in their host country (entrance strategies), and learning how to develop satisfying relationships with people in the host community.

3. *In-country development programs.* Offered at one or several points during the adjustment process, in-country development programs assist participants in taking full advantage of the opportunities available in the host country. New arrivals can assess the effectiveness of the entrance strategies they developed during the orientation program. They can also explore ways to maintain their ability to cope with new experiences over time and to open avenues of culture learning.

4. *Re-entry programs.* Having lived in another culture, people in transition have changed; their own cultures and the people there—family,

friends and associates—have changed. Re-entry requires readjustment; it can be difficult. A re-entry program prepares participants to apply the skills learned in the orientation program and developed thereafter to adjusting at home. Expectations are clarified, new capacities they have developed are recognized, and ways they can be applied to the home situation are explored. Finally, a plan for moving back into the home culture can be devised.

Along the way, the person in transition comes into contact with many people in the new environment. Important among them are foreign student advisers, teachers, administrators and volunteers. If these individuals are able to initiate contact with confidence and maintain it with insight and skill, both the person in transition and those he encounters will learn more, enjoy more and pursue still deeper relationships. Such confidence, insight and skills can be developed through four kinds of cross-cultural training.

1. *Training for advisers.* Training advisers is designed for people (in foreign student offices, residence halls and college or university departments) who are responsible for trying to meet the needs and increase the learning opportunities of a culturally diverse group of foreign students. This training is intended to increase advisers' capacity to provide information, guidance, referral and a range of services and programs in ways that are useful to foreign students.

2. *Cultural awareness training.* Valuable in all training programs, cultural awareness training increases participant's awareness of the influence of culture on thinking and behaving. Deeply embedded in each of us is a pervasive and controlling perceptual system heavily conditioned by our cultural experiences and largely out of our awareness. Cultural awareness training is designed to increase the participants' understanding of their own cultural conditioning and of the inherent logic in ways of acting and reasoning practiced by other culture groups. Skills that help people respond sensitively to those differences and learn from them are developed and practiced in cultural awareness training programs. For professors in multicultural classes and teachers of English as a second language, for example, this training increases the teachers' awareness of the cultural dimensions of their subjects and the cultural diversity of their students. It enables the teachers to draw upon this diversity, thereby increasing the cultural awareness and the learning of all their students.

3. *Visitor involvement training.* Training for visitor involvement is designed especially for volunteers, including host families, community program coordinators, fieldwork placement personnel, and students who volunteer to assist new foreign students. Volunteers learn and practice specific ways to enable foreign students and visitors to become constructively involved in activities, organizations and families in their community.

4. Management skills training. The administrators of universities and colleges today are, in fact, managers of multicultural organizations and designers of multicultural learning environments. Therefore, they must develop skills in enabling faculty, staff and students who come from very diverse backgrounds to contribute more to the organization. Furthermore, they must develop skills in creating and establishing structures, policies and procedures which can accommodate the contrasting, sometimes contradictory, values, priorities and expectations of the culturally diverse members of their organization.

The kind of training appropriate to persons who come in contact with foreign students, and the importance of providing each kind of training, depends in part upon the intensity and frequency of contact. The kinds of training described above are arranged in descending order: the training at the top (training for advisers), for example, is designed for those who have the most consistent contact with persons in transition. (It may be most important to provide those in this category with training.) The divisions among the training programs listed are arbitrary, it must be noted. There is often considerable overlap among them, with respect to both contact and kinds of participants.

Finally, central to all training programs is the training of trainers. This kind of training is designed for those who may have lived in another culture, who are thoroughly familiar with the difficulties and opportunities of persons in transition and the people with whom they come in contact, and who want to learn how to design, conduct and evaluate cross-cultural training programs. Training skills programs are also very helpful for professors and language teachers who wish to integrate into their courses one or more modules based on intercultural perspectives and intercultural training methods.

Assessing training needs

The next step in planning a training program is to determine in a systematic way the particular needs, strengths and training requirements of the participants. This is done by means of a "needs assessment," through which the director-trainer tries to discover what knowledge participants already have, what needs they wish to meet in the program and the extent of their experience with earlier training. Prior to an orientation program, for example, the level of knowledge participants have about the country and culture they are entering can be tested with check lists. After the program, information about changes in their knowledge and attitudes can be sought through a variety of evaluation techniques, many of which are mentioned later in this chapter in the section on evaluation of intercultural training programs.

Setting training objectives

Objectives are nothing more or less than our hopes, dreams and desires, stated succinctly. They provide the justification for every plan-

ning decision, the guiding principles by which we operate, and the foundation for any evaluative process we undertake. It is important, therefore, to learn how to identify or formulate objectives for a training program.

There are several species of objectives. The broadest and most general is more often called a *goal*, or even a "mission." This is a statement of ultimate aims, such as, "Our aim is to promote world peace," or "Progress is our most important product," or, "Out of many, one." Although this type of objective tends toward unassailable "apple-pie-and-motherhood" sorts of formulations, it can perform a significant function in the context of a training program, serving as a banner around which to rally the spirit or commitment of those directly affected. It is geared also to the "outside" audiences—funding sources, administrators, prospective trainees and potential staff members or consultants. The broad goal statement gives the "why" of training.

Next is the more concrete definition of the *desired outcomes* of a particular program for a particular group of trainees. There may be several, though one may be paramount. An example might be, "to promote the adjustment of foreign students to the American culture, the American educational system and the University of Delaware campus community." It is important to inform all participants—trainers, trainees and others—of these objectives. Those receiving training should know what they can expect to learn in the program.

From these we move to more specific and *measurable results*. The first two levels of objectives having dealt with purposes or ends, this group of objectives is concrete and operational. In the example of university students, such objectives might include reducing the "early return" rate among those foreign students, involving larger number of students in campus activities, or increasing the ability of students to find friends. As these objectives are selected, those planning the training will begin cooperating with those who may be working toward similar goals by other means, notably counselors and academic advisers.

The most specific type of objective is one that indicates a specific skill, behavior or body of knowledge to be developed in the program. These may include (1) *"own culture" awareness*, making conscious the trainee's cultural identity and finding out how others view his or her culture;(2) *"other culture" sensitivity*, recognizing how prejudices and stereotypes develop and affect relations between people of different culture groups; or learning specific cultural data, traits, values and customs of another culture; and (3) *"intercultural" functioning*, learning about the cultural features of communication between individuals, and learning ways to build constructive and mutually satisfying relationships with people from other cultures, and/or developing coping strategies for living in an unfamiliar cultural environment.

Most training programs require an umbrella goal that provides a central focus. The real guides for constructing the training design, however, are those objectives that indicate what measurable results are expected and what skills are to be learned.

Creating the program design

The next step in cross-cultural training is designing a program that will achieve the chosen objectives. The design must meet the needs of the participants, fit the objectives, serve as an effective vehicle for the content of the program, describe the methods to be used and provide for evaluation of the program. Since the design represents the basic pattern that the program will follow, much of the trainer's effort and thought will be invested in the design process.

Figure 2 shows the steps that are followed in designing and conducting training programs.

The participants are, of course, the most important part of any training program. Training is designed to accommodate their distincitive cultural backgrounds, learning styles, prior experiences, interests, and, especially, their needs. The diagnosis of their needs influences the formulation of program objectives, and this diagnosis is the foundation for constructing the design. Everything revolves around who the participants or trainees are and what they can realistically be expected to learn and do.

There are some general principles of learning theory that can be applied to designing training programs and selecting training techniques. They are briefly summarized here.

—Participants must be motivated to learn. They must have an awareness of the need to learn, based on their own concerns or inadequacies, and an understanding of what needs to be learned.

—Learning is an active process, so participants learn better when more than one of their senses is used in the effort and when they are actively involved in the learning process.

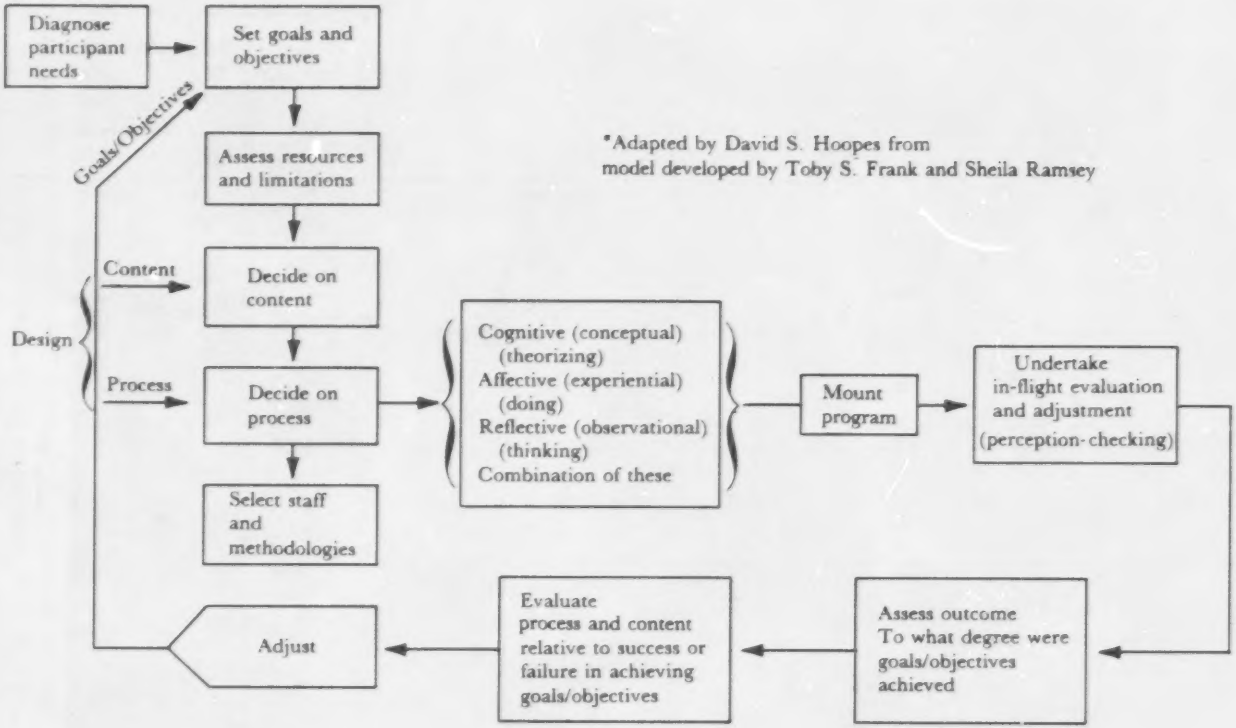
—Most people need guidance to speed and reinforce learning and to prevent them from pursuing unproductive directions. It is the trainers' responsibility to provide this guidance.

—Appropriate materials to aid sequential learning should be provided. These may include cases, discussion outlines, readings or other materials, some of which are described in the section on training techniques.

—A variety of learning methods should be used in training. Any method, old or new, can begin to bore some participants if it is overused.

—It takes time to assimilate what has been learned, to accept it, to internalize it and to gain confidence in what has been learned.

Figure 2. Training program design.*



*Adapted by David S. Hoopes from model developed by Toby S. Frank and Sheila Ramsey

—Participants must see the usefulness of learning in relation to their needs.
—Learning must consistently and immediately be reinforced and rewarded, especially if participants' behavior is expected to change.
—Standards of performance should be set for participants, so they can recognize their own accomplishments.
—There are individual differences in the way people learn. These differences can be influenced by culture and must be taken into account as training programs are designed.

In assessing the resources available for the program, consideration must be given to the amount of time that will be available for the training, where it can be held and whether skilled trainers are available.

As was stated earlier, training programs can be of varying duration. If it is possible to schedule only a three-hour session, this will limit the content to one or two topics. It is better to cover these few topics thoroughly than to treat a larger number of topics superficially, thereby confusing the participants and producing few measurable results. Even a two- or three-day program has limitations. If it is possible to plan longer programs, careful consideration must be given to building each session upon the preceding one and insuring that each reinforces the learning that has gone before.

Training programs can take place in virtually any setting, from sophisticated retreat centers to classrooms. Site selection is usually based on such practicalities as accessibility, cost, availability and size. The "place," wherever it may be, will influence the design and must be examined to determine the kind of influence it will have. This examination consists of a very critical "walk-about" the facilities, and a bit of sitting where participants will be expected to sit. A few things to consider are how space is organized, how it channels the movement of people, how it facilitates or obstructs interaction and what its general atmosphere is. Is there a lounge to which people naturally gravitate? If not, other ways to bring people together will have to be devised. Is a gymnasium the only place available? The "props" will have to be arranged and activities planned to create a sense of some intimacy. Do the chairs have unmovable writing arms or are they nailed to the floor? These will form barriers to the interaction. It will be necessary to find ways to reduce their effect or find another location. Are there hard surfaces and glaring lights that will cause fatigue? Be sure there are activities which permit participants to move around.

There will probably never be a perfect setting, so be ready to improvise and make it work for you. It is helpful, as well, to choose a place that can be viewed as "neutral," not "belonging" to any particular segment of the participant group or to the trainers.

One of the most critical resources for an intercultural training program is the knowledge and experience individual participants bring to

it. Participants can learn from each other, but rarely do so unless this process is deliberately designed into the program. Simply bringing them together is not enough. Acitivities must be planned and adequate time allowed to encourage this type of learning.

The content of a program varies with the kind of training being offered. Cultural awareness training will most likely cover perception and communication theory, for example, applying each to the needs of the particular group of trainees. With faculty, an exploration of the assumptions that undergird their subjects and teaching styles can lead to discovering ways in which their assumptions differ from those held by students from different cultures. Then there can be discussion of ways in which faculty members can use this knowledge to assist the students in understanding and using the course material both in the pursuit of a degree and in the work they will undertake when they return home.

The sequencing of training events (process) and the specific methods used will be those best able, in the eyes of the trainer, to provide an effective vehicle for reaching program objectives and covering the content of the program. If, through testing and feedback, it is found that the objectives are not being met, the design can be altered. Opportunities for ongoing feedback should be built into the design so "in-flight" modifications can be made.

Trainers are responsible for testing the pulse of the groups and, as the program proceeds, adjusting the pace so it does not rush ahead or lag behind where the participants are. Some elasticity should be incorporated into the design so these adjustments can be easily made.

When the design is completed, the training methods (described briefly in a later section of this chapter) are selected. Often trainers are tempted to begin searching for and selecting each method as they design the program. It is best to resist this impulse. The completed design will suggest methods, and starting the search for methods too early greatly complicates the designing process.

A post-program evaluation for measuring how well the objectives have been met is composed after the design has been completed. A formal evaluation is useful not only for finding out if the desired results have been achieved, but also to help in designing future programs. During the designing process, notes as to the specific purpose of each phase of the training will help in constructing the evaluation instrument.

Training programs generally have four distinct but interlocking phases. *First* there is an introduction to the program, the training staff and the participants. Every group comes new to a training program. They need to be oriented to it and, even if they are already acquainted, to each other. During this time trainees can express their expectations and find out what the trainer hopes to accomplish. They can also begin to know each other and build rapport among themselves and with the trainers.

When designing this phase, the trainer must decide how to introduce the program's specific objectives, and what kind of information to provide that will ease the participants' progress through the program. The trainer must also decide how much interaction is to take place among participants and what it is expected to achieve. In orientation programs, for example, participants may be asked to think about and then discuss what they look forward to enjoying in a new culture or how they feel about leaving home. This kind of discussion brings out what is important to each paticipant. In succeeding phases, as strategies are developed and skills for entering a new culture are learned, this information can provide a reference point.

Since a training program does not have "prerequisites" or presume prior common educational experience, the *second* phase of the program is providing a conceptual foundation on which the remainder of the program can build. The second phase also includes the introduction of the training methods that are going to be used in the program. Participants should have the opportunity in phase two to be become accustomed to and experience some success with the training methods chosen for the program. A considerable amount of time and material may be needed to accomplish this.

The trainer must decide what basic concepts are appropriate to a particular program and group of trainees, and what approach to these concepts is most likely to engage the interest of this group. Ideas about the process of adaptation would be present in orientation training, for example, but introduced gradually, with appropriate exercises that can make the ideas real rather than abstract, and can let trainees practice how they will deal with their own adaptation. The same concept may also be appropriate in visitor involvement or other training programs, but might be better presented in a different way.

Consideration must be given to the trainees' level of sophistication with regard to the concepts that are being presented. What is common knowledge to one group of participants may be virtually unknown to another. Ways of approaching the concepts vary too. One group might respond best when an activity comes first, followed by discussion. Another group may prefer a lecture first, then questions. Yet another group may prefer a brief lecturette interspersed with equally brief exercises. (To complicate matters, most groups contain individuals with wide variances in their preferences.)

Included in the design, beginning in phase two and continuing throughout, are processes that test and reinforce the learning that takes place. The skills in intercultural communication that are introduced will relate to the conceptual material presented. Practicing those skills can demonstrate how well participants understand the concepts and their application to the particular skills. In the event that participants appear

not to be learning what they are expected to learn, alternative approaches should be at hand to reinforce the lessons being taught.

Phase *three* is the heart of the program and will consume most of the time available. It is here that the trainers will pursue the program's major aims and participants will learn more complex theoretical concepts and acquire more sophisticated intercultural communication and human relations skills. The purpose of this phase is to provide the skill and content learning that is the *raison d'etre* of the program.

It is important throughout the program, but especially in phase three, that the design allow the trainer opportunites for synthesizing, tying together scattered insights and integrating new learning with the old. The design is intended to be a vehicle for this kind of integration and should continually refer back to and build on all that has gone before. For example, in phase two the trainer might introduce the idea that a nonjudgmental approach to culturally different people is more constructive than a judgmental one. During the discussions and exercises in phase three, the trainer might point out instances where a judgmental remark has hindered mutual understanding, or where a nonjudgmental response has led to additional constructive conversation.

There are some special requirements to be met in phase three. The trainer must decide how the participants can be enouraged to take greater risks, moving from the less difficult intellectual and emotional demands of the first two phases to exploring their own attitudes and behaviors in greater depth. This requires an atmosphere of trust and respect for each individual and for the group as a whole. The trainers can help create this atmosphere by consistently displaying respect for and modeling their trust of each other and of the participants.

Secondly, the design must be flexible, so that when discussion goes in unexpected directions, those directions can be pursued and integrated into the overall plan. It helps to build a little "fat" into the design, activities that are useful to the learning but can be sacrificed without jeopardizing the overall direction of the program or the accomplishment of its aims. Adequate time for discussing all group experiences, planned and unplanned, must be allowed so that the feelings and knowledge that emerge from them are dealt with fully.

Finally, phase *four* brings the program to a definite conclusion, rather than allowing it to simply end or, worse, fade away. A sense of having completed something unified and whole is necessary for both trainers and participants. The program should be brought to an end in a way that is emotionally satisfying, affirms the nature of the experience and propels participants into the real world. The trainer must determine how to sum up the most significant and useful learnings from the training and ensure that participants do not leave with unresolved questions or feelings about the program. In addition, participants should be

assisted in devising ways to apply the training to their daily lives. The training experience is then linked to what they encounter every day and is not left as an isolated event unrelated to daily life.

The program design, in summary, provides the pattern for the training. A design should be reviewed to assure that it:

1. fits the participants and program objectives;
2. is balanced, so that no one learning style dominates and there is harmony between content and process;
3. flows smoothly, so that each stage of training yields easily to the next;
4. includes periods for reflection, for physical activity, for intense concentration and...pauses now and then for rest and refueling;
5. integrates the cognitive, affective and skill learning in a way that each reinforces and elaborates the other;
6. has flexibility, so there can be expansion or contraction in response to the immediate and compelling needs or interests of participants; and
7. does not demand more than participants can handle, striving for "understanding and respect" of cultural differences without expecting participants to accept "other ways" as valid for themselves.

Selecting and training the staff

In selecting a training staff or associate trainer, the abilities of staff members to carry out the intentions of the design and bring complementary capabilities to the program are of paramount importance.

The program director-trainer orchestrates the activities of the program, acting as a conductor whose responsibilities begin before the performance. Those responsibilities include starting the action, selecting the hall and time of performance, advertising, deciding who will play, what pieces will be played in what order and why. The director then selects associate trainers, makes certain they know the score, assigns specific performance responsibilities and makes sure everything is ready for the players.

Trainers are seen variously as role models, entertainers, teachers and friends. They have developed a unique combination of knowledge, skills and personal qualities that the director will evaluate when choosing staff members. Professionals in the field of international educational interchange often have some of these attributes, and others can be developed through study and participation in training programs.

The director will need trainers who have a working knowledge of communication, perception, culture, cross-cultural adjustment, personal development and learning theory. They must also be familiar with the spectrum of training methodologies, whether cognitive or behavioral, and be comfortable and creative in using them to achieve program objectives. In addition, trainers must know their own culture and how it is manifested in their behavior and attitudes.

Trainers will also have acquired skills that include motivating participants to see, move, think and feel in new ways, modeling intercultural effectiveness and behaving like good communicators—actively listening and watching, giving and receiving feedback. They ask provocative questions, are interested, concerned and sensitive to the needs of others, and open and revealing about themselves.

During the program (and to some extent before and after the program), trainers accept a certain degree of responsibility for the work the participants do to maximize their learning and develop their strengths. They focus on the needs and potential of the participants as individuals with varying levels of experience and sensitivity. By identifying strengths, they help each participant make a contribution to the learning experience of the total group. They build a cohesive group by being sensitive to the levels of trust within the group and anticipating points of conflict. They tolerate ambiguity and confusion well.

Trainers synthesize ideas, taking abstract ideas and making them concrete or vice-versa, as participant needs dictate.

With awareness of where the participants are going and the problems they may encounter after the program ends, trainers help devise action plans which will continue to provide opportunities for growth in intercultural effectiveness.

Trainers must be aware of their personal strengths and limitations for carrying out these tasks; they must be aware of their own needs and expectations, and how they will affect their role in a program. Each trainer draws on his or her own strengths, attempts to overcome weaknesses, and works synergistically with the rest of the staff, with different capabilities complementing each other to reach program objectives.

The program director-trainer will search for these capabilities as trainers are selected to be members of the training staff. Not all these qualities will reside in every prospective trainer. The director may have to suggest ways in which individuals can acquire the needed knowledge and skills to become effective in their roles.

There are many ways to acquire this knowledge—taking courses, reading the books and articles that are seminal works in intercultural communication and related fields, and keeping abreast of new materials that are emerging. Attending training conferences, institutes and workshops is especially useful. These provide opportunities for testing training techniques, taking a participant role and establishing contact with others whose interests are similar. People who become trainers often have been "trained" by learning directly from other trainers, almost apprentice-style, observing what they do, taking increasingly prominent roles in training programs and having their mentors critique their performances.

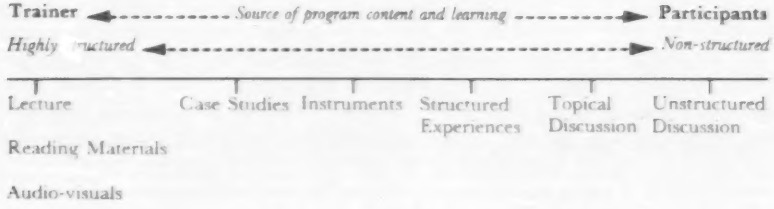
For each training program, the staff must learn as much as possible about the culture of the participants and about their professional concerns. The director helps staff members locate this information and prepare to conduct the training. The specific methods to be used in this task are selected after the director has acquired a greater sense of the staff's capabilities.

Selecting methods for training

As training techniques are discussed, weighed and evaluated, the ultimate test must be the fitness of each technique for the particular trainees involved and for the purpose of each segment of the design. The phrase "appropriate technology" can be applied to training as well as to tilling soil and generating power. Appropriateness is the criterion which must guide the trainer in choosing among the available training techniques. The trainer asks, "What do we want to accomplish here?" while considering what methods will be used.

There is a wide array of techniques to draw upon. They range from the highly structured to the very unstructured, with all the possible gradations between. As Figure 3 indicates, when highly structured techniques are used, nearly all the information the participants receive is supplied by the trainer or a source the trainer selects. As less and less structured methodologies are employed, there is a shift from the trainer as the primary source of information to the participants as that source.

Figure 3. Training methodologies



Most trainers agree that each of the methodologies included here can produce learning if they are skillfully integrated into the design. However, like the circus tightrope walker, the trainer must keep both ends of the pole balanced so the program is not excessively structured or excessively unstructured.

The methods briefly described below are those most commonly used in training programs. Others exist and more are being developed as trainers test and evaluate new approaches. These are the "tried-and-true." Most require few if any elaborate props or materials. Detailed

instructions for obtaining many of them can be found at the close of this chapter.

Lecture. The all-too-familiar lecture method has fallen out of favor with many trainers because it is thought to be far too removed from the actual situation of the trainee. However, it has its place and can be especially useful if it is brief, concise and followed by or interspersed with other methods that actively involve the participant and reinforce the message. The trainers' judgment about using lectures depends on the content, the desired outcome and the person doing the lecturing, as well as on the attitudes and aptitudes of the participants.

Reading materials. Reading assigned prior to and during training is being used more and more, especially in longer programs. Readings can get participants started thinking about new topics and can provide background for planned discussions. Another approach is to ask participants to look for information on an assigned subject. (This approach may require scheduled research time.) In either case, the readings may be about the nature of culture, communication, etc., or about specific cultures. The latter, of course, is especially appropriate for those in transition training.

Films, videotape, other audio-visuals. Audio-visual materials can be used to provide specific information or to provoke reactions and discussion. The content of the materials, the way in which they are used in the program, and the attitudes of the viewers themselves will influence the way audio-visuals can be used in a program. A film, for example, can be a piece of blatantly manipulative propaganda, or a purposely ambiguous and thought-provoking work which is subject to many different interpretations. A series of slides can be used to fulfill very different purposes, by changing the narration or sound-track, order or duration, previewing preparation, follow-up discussion, etc. Audio-visual materials should be previewed and used with care.

Area studies information. Information about countries is usually in the form of facts about politics, geography, economics, etc., and is most often provided by "experts." Some trainers refuse to use it, believing that the experts who provide it detract too much from the flow of the training program. Other trainers rely heavily on area studies information and experts, *especially* pre-departure programs.

Lists of do's and don't's. Lists advising trainees how to behave in a new culture are often provided for persons who are in, or bound for, another culture. This approach is most appropriate for two areas of social interaction: the obligatory, such as calling your host if unable to attend his dinner party (in the United States), and the taboo, such as stealing (in many cultures).

There are dangers in the do's and don't's approach. One is its inherent tendency toward oversimplification. Exhaustive (and exhausting) cataloging of do's and don't's leaves the impression of equiv-

alence between items. (Consider, for example, U.S. taboos against incest and shaking hands with one's left hand. Both taboos are absolute, but one is more important than the other.) Finally the do's and don't's approach conveys the impression that adjustment to a new culture is a mere matter of learning what is and what is not appropriate conduct in various situations. This approach does not lead to an appreciation of the psychological dynamics of adjustment to a new culture.

Instruments. Questionnaires, self-assessments and workbooks are the kinds of instruments usually used in training. While these devices provide considerable structure for the participant, they can also provide opportunities for open-ended answers, alternative ways of solving problems, and some wandering contemplation. Questionnaires and self-assessments also allow participants to evaluate where they began and how far they progressed during the training program in acquiring new information or in changing attitudes. If shared with the trainer, completed instruments provide information for evaluating the training program. Although the content of the materials may range over broad territory, the responses called for are verbal or written, rather than active, and are best used for periods of reflection during the program or in preparation for training.

Structured experiences. The almost unending supply of techniques that can be termed "structured experiences" are categorized and described below. These experiences, of whatever type they are, must follow four basic steps if they are going to be effective. The steps are as follows:

1. Introduction. The purposes and procedures of the experience are explained until everyone thoroughly understands what it is they are expected to do. Some people are unwilling to participate in particular experiences. It should be made clear that participation is voluntary.
2. Experience. The "action" then takes place, facilitated by the trainer(s). The experience is concluded when it has run its course or enough data has been generated for a productive discussion.
3. Debriefing. Participants explain what they did during the experience, inquire about the actions of others, and express how they felt. The emphasis is on what occurred during the experience rather than on why specific things might have occurred.
4. Discussion (sometimes called "processing"). Participants interpret what happened and talk about why they responded as they did. The objective of processing is to relate the experience to the issues that the experience was intended to illustrate, and to extract lessons that might be useful in other situations.

Simulations. Simulations are probably the most powerful experiential learning tools used in cross-cultural training programs. A good simulation exposes a variety of intercultural issues. In attempting—and often

succeeding remarkably well—to produce a mock reality, simulations are personally involving for participants, producing feelings and thoughts that are very much like those a true intercultural encounter will evoke. These feelings and thoughts constitute a rich resource for discussion and learning. Simulations usually take a long time to play and process, so ample time must be allowed for them.

Role-play. Role-plays are a flexible training method. A role-play can be a very brief (one minute or less) kind of "what if..." exercise or a several-hour experience in temporarily assuming another "persona." Most commonly, a small number of persons interact in a half-structured, half-extemporaneous mini-drama, lasting five to ten minutes. The trainer may prepare a page or two of background or "stage setting" to establish the characters, their reason for interacting and a set of problems. Within that framework, the role-players improvise words and action. The heart of the role-play, from the trainer's viewpoint, lies in the post-role-play feedback and analysis which may involve the players, the trainer, other observers, or all three.

Situational exercises. Brief exercises intended to illustrate a specific concept or give practice in a particular skill can be called "situational exercises." The rules of the exercise create a specific and highly structured situation in which the trainees participate. People may be asked to engage in an activity and then discuss their personal reactions to it, or to complete a particular task and offer feedback on how well it was accomplished. Situational exercises provide for an immediate application of a theory or, conversely, provide an experience on which to base a discussion of theoretical questions. They must, therefore, be fully integrated with the other learning procedures that surround them.

Case-study. Using real or fabricated data, a "case" is offered as a basis for examining certain points or issues that are entailed in it. The trainer will often encourage discussion of several alternative solutions, more than one of which may be valid. There should be sufficient information given so that participants are challenged to pick out the most important factors in the case.

Critical incidents. A close cousin to the case-study, critical incidents are brief vignettes or scenarios portraying situations of culture conflict or misunderstandings. They focus on real life issues (as do case-studies) experienced by the participants themselves or by people who are similar to themselves or who are in comparable situations. Critical incidents involve the participants in problem-solving and can generate lively and substantive discussion.

Taping and videotaping. Obviously a technique that allows trainees to "see themselves as others see them," taping and videotaping provide immediate feedback on how people interact. Participants can evaluate their own performance and that of others, give and receive suggestions about how they might alter their behavior so that it is more effective and

pesonally satisfying. The trainer must handle this discussion with great concern for personal feelings. Tapes can be made outside the setting of the training program, of course, in order to show trainees what situations they might encounter and to stimulate discussion about how they might deal with these situations. Using tapes and videotapes requires special equipment and a trained operator.

Outside assignments. Not to be confused with reading materials, outside assignments may consist of a trip to a playground to observe interaction among children (or parents and children) or to a shopping center to learn how to purchase needed items, an interview with a university administrator, a search for an item that is symbolic of one's culture or personal identity, and so on. There are a host of possiblities from which the inventive trainer can choose. A little surveying of the surrounding territory may be needed to assure that the assignment evokes the intended lesson.

Brainstorming. Intended to produce as many ideas as possible on a particular topic, brainstorming is a technique in which participants are asked to give immediate reactions to a question or problem. Evaluation of these ideas is not permitted until everyone has had a chance to respond. Then the list of ideas can be discussed and evaluated and appropriate choices can be made.

Group tasks. The group may be assigned a task that has to be completed within a set period of time. The process is as important as the product as people learn to work cooperatively, assign or assume leadership and recognize the value of applying the diverse talents available in the group to accomplishing the job. The assigned task should be one the group views as important, and the results of the exercise should be ones they can apply either during the training program or later.

Discussion groups. Discussion groups have a specific topic to consider. Group members are each important because each brings a unique point of view to the discussion. Each shares his or her own readings, experiences, etc., in order to shed light on the subject at hand. These discussions may be oriented towards decision-making or to information- or idea-sharing.

Familiar variations on group discussions are "dyads," or conversations between two participants, and "triads," discussion among three participants. In triads, two people may talk while the third observes and then reports on those observations. In both exercises, participants may eventually be asked to tell the whole group what happened in their small discussion group.

Unstructured discussion. Unstructured discussion has no assigned topic. Discussion concerns whatever matters the participants choose to bring up and follow. While the participants provide the information and heavily influence the direction of the discussion, the trainer does not totally relinquish control. The trainer actively participates, listens

carefully, facilitates the discussions and ensures that closure is achieved. In fact, the trainer's skills will be taxed more in activities that appear to have no structure than in those that have definite guidelines and boundaries.

None of these techniques is necessarily noxious or hurtful, and none is always and everywhere a boon. The trainer must develop the competence to travel over this landscape or—equally commendably—to recognize and accommodate his or her own limitations. Some techniques will be modified, and others eliminated from consideration. The trainer is responsible for selecting those which best fit his or her own capabilities or those of the staff, and fit, too, the particular trainees and training program. The design provides a framework for the training; methodologies are selected to provide substance and carry out the intent of the design.

Evaluation of intercultural training programs

In the previous sections of this chapter we have considered the reasons for doing intercultural training, the formulation of training goals and objectives, and the selection and use of training methods. We come now to a critical question: Having established the objectives and having used these methods, *what are the results?* Has there actually been any learning? If so, what kind of learning? Is it what was intended? Proof of learning is difficult to come by. Evidence of the nature and extent of learning that has occurred is usually available, however. Evidence is gathered through evaluation. The person desiring the evaluation must make a number of choices. They are listed here and then elaborated through the remainder of this section.

1. *Who* does the evaluation?
2. *For whom* is it done?
3. *When* is it done?
4. *What* is to be measured?
5. *How* is the measurement to be done?
6. What is the appropriate *format* for the findings?
7. How are the findings to be *used*?

Who does the evaluation?

The trainer usually does the evaluation, although there is some advantage to having an associate do it because the associate may bring more objectivity and/or expertise to the task. An advantage to having the trainer design the evaluation is the thorough acquaintance with goals and content of the program and the learning styles and aspirations of the participants.

For whom is the evaluation done?

The trainer's choice here will significantly influence all subsequent choices. In designing the evaluation, the trainer may choose to give priority to the participants, the trainer, an administrator, or colleagues. The information obtained through the evaluation would then relate most clearly to that group's concerns and should be immediately useful in their decisions and plans.

When is the evaluation done?

Training programs are seldom evaluated at all. When they are, the evaluation is usually looked upon as a means for finding out how things *went*. It is therefore tacked on at the end. Evaluation can also be done *during* the program to find out how things *are going*. If evaluation is built into the entire process, it is a means for integrating the program's different phases.

In addition, evaluation is a useful means for finding out how things *should go*. It is therefore important to study the findings from previous evaluations *before* the program—during the planning phase.

Finally, the *follow-up* evaluation, which measures longer term effects, can be conducted one month or more after the program has ended.

What is to be measured?

Investigation of certain subjects is inappropriate for people from some cultures. Investigation of other subjects is not only appropriate but expected. Basic cultural characteristics must be kept in mind during the design, the introduction and the administration of an evaluation, not only out of consideration for the participants but also out of concern for the accuracy of their responses.

What then is to be measured? There are three alternatives: the trainer, the program, or the consequences of the trainer and the program—the effects. With regard to the *trainer*, one might want to look at his or her knowledge of the subject, ability to interest and motivate the participants, ability to demonstrate cultural self-awareness, appreciation of the contrasting goals and learning styles of the participants, and ability to act as a cultural interpreter.

With regard to the *program* itself, if this is the focus of the evaluation, one might look at the goals, components, sequence (does one component build upon another?), pace, atmosphere, organization, facilities and so forth.

With regard to the *effects*, there are five major categories of possible effects upon the participants: knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, skills and patterns of behavior. An evaluation of effects seeks to measure changes in one or more of these areas.

How is the measurement to be done?

The trainer must consider carefully the effect of particular methods of evaluation upon the participants' learning. The thinking, acting and interacting required of participants during an evaluation can, if the methods are chosen properly, contribute significantly to the participants' learning.

Most evaluation methods can be placed into one of two categories, those in which participants do the estimating and recording, and those in which the trainer or other observers do the estimating and recording.

One method used frequently during intercultural training programs is discussion. This can be very open-ended or somewhat structured (through questions from the trainer, for example). A more formal kind of discussion, very appropriate for monitoring and evaluation, is the interview. The trainer can interview each participant or the participants can interview one another.

Paper and pencil methods require thoughtful preparation but are usually easy to administer. They include check lists, rank ordering, rating scales, analysis of critical incidents, analysis of case studies or films and photographs, completing sentences, answering questions, and keeping a journal. Examples of four of these methods will be given here; examples of all the methods can be found in the publications listed under "evaluation" at the close of this chapter.

Checklists. These are usually single words, often adjectives or short descriptive phrases:

For me, this course has been (check as many as apply):

_____ informative
_____ boring
_____ motivating
_____ frustrating
_____ enjoyable
_____ tedious

Rating scales. Several kinds of rating scales are suitable for evaluation of intercultural training programs. The easiest to respond to and tabulate can be incorporated into such questions as the following:

To what extent has this program been valuable for you?
(Please circle the appropriate number):
not at all - 0 1 2 3 4 5 - extremely

Sentence completion. The first part of each sentence describes a certain situation or identifies particular individuals (often the participant). The participant finishes the sentence in whatever way he or she wishes. This method can be used to estimate the present level of, and subsequent learning in, all five areas: knowledge, perceptions, attitudes, skills and patterns of behavior.

When I find I am in strong disagreement with an American student, I usually _____

_____

Once the trainer has decided specifically what he is looking for and has constructed the first part of each sentence, he or she can establish specific criteria against which the responses of the students can be compared.

Questions. There are two basic kinds of questions, structured and open-ended (or free response). With regard to structured questions, the multiple choice format is the standard one; it is sometimes the best and (for the student, at least) often the simplest. It is usually used just to test specific knowledge but it can be used for other areas of evaluation.

When a white American first meets a black American, the primary non-verbal difficulty they are likely to experience would concern:

a. personal space
b. kind of physical contact
c. eye contact
d. none of the above would cause difficulty

One variable which the trainer should keep in mind as he or she is constructing open-ended questions is the extent to which each question guides and limits the participant's response. More specific questions and longer questions restrict the range of possible answers.

In what specific ways has your own culture influenced your participation in this course? _____

_____

In addition to *discussion* and *paper and pencil* methods of evaluation, the trainer may wish to consider a number of other methods. *Enactment* provides an opportunity for the participants to enact a specific situation, thereby demonstrating what they have learned, reinforcing their learning and presenting to the trainer or other observer particular behavior that can be evaluated.

Production involves the construction by an individual or small group of a tangible product (photographs, poems, drawings, sculptures, case studies, critical incidents, videotapes and so forth). Either the product or the process, or both, can be evaluated.

Observation is important to several of the methods described above, especially unstructured discussion, enactment and production. Observation is usually more penetrating and more useful for evaluation if it is done *systematically*.

Unobtrusive measures do not interfere with what the participant would normally be doing. The evaluator using unobtrusive measures would look at such things as participation in voluntary activities

(multicultural events), orientations for foreign students, etc.), enrollment in subsequent programs, and so forth.

How tabulation can be enjoyed

Seeing the results emerge during the tabulation can be exciting. The sheets on which the tabulation is done can be designed in a variety of ways. The evaluators should set up those which are quickest and simplest for them. Below are examples of formats for tabulating the response to various kinds of evaluative techniques.

Checklists

NIGERIANS' PERCEPTIONS OF AMERICANS

Number of students: 32

		total responses	% of total students
sincere	////	5	16
aggressive	////////////	22	70
etc.			

If this kind of question is asked after the program as well as before, the number of Nigerian participants who perceive Americans as being sincere, for example, may have increased considerably.

Scales

	0	1	2	3	4	5	average rating
Question 1			/	//	////	////	4.1
2	/	////	////	//			1.7
5	ETC.						
							2.9

Multiple choice questions. In multiple choice questions the alternatives from which the students choose are not numbers, so an average rating cannot be derived. Instead, the percentage of students who choose each alternative is determined:

QUESTION 4		total responses	% of total students
as often as possible	/	/	/
frequently	//	2	12
sometimes	///	3	18
seldom	///	3	18
never	////////	8	47

Prose responses. The evaluation of prose responses that are given to incomplete sentences and open-ended questions is done in one of two ways, by comparing the participants' responses to one another, then rating each participant accordingly, or by comparing their responses to a general standard or specific set of criteria, then rating the participants—or the program—depending upon the purpose of the question.

Appropriate format for findings

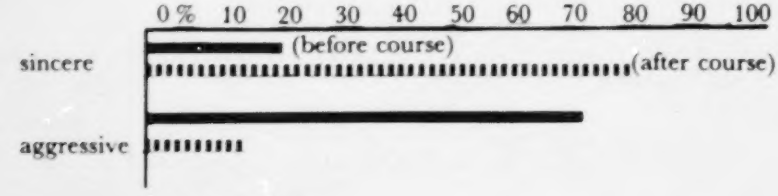
Sometimes the tabulation sheet itself is the best format for portraying the results. Often, however, it contains more data than are needed. Furthermore, if the findings are to be clear and easily grasped, it is better to use a format which makes a strong visual impression, one which presents the data in lines, bars, graphs or contrasting locations on the page. Such a simplified, easily assimilated format is especially important when the results are to be presented to someone else (the participants, administrators, etc.).

Checklists

SAUDI PERCEPTIONS OF AMERICANS

Number of respondents: 32

15. Generally speaking, Americans are (please check *as many as apply*):



The results of check lists can also be clearly displayed by showing them in rank order, with the number of respondents choosing each alternative reported as a precentage of the total number of respondents:

PARTICIPANTS' DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM

number of respondents: 32

17. For me, this course has been (check *as many as apply*):

82% exciting
80 engaging
76 motivating
68 one of the best

Scales. Scales on which the participant selects a number can yield equally interesting and useful results. One appropriate format for them is the following:

EVALUATION OF COURSE GOALS

number of respondents: 33

18. As a result of this program, to what extent do you now recognize *more clearly* the influence of your own culture upon your particular values, expectations and ways of relating to other people?

(not at all - 0 1 2 3 4 5 - much more clearly)

Average: 4.1 Range 1-5

When several short items have been rated on a numerical scale, the results can be clearly displayed by rank ordering them. These results, of course, are extremely useful in designing the next training program.

EVALUATION OF COURSE COMPONENTS

4.9 exercise on intercultural learning
4.7 film on perceptions
4.7 lecture on communication
4.3 exercise on listening
3.8 case study on conflict

An average of all of these would give the trainer an overall rating for the program.

Prose responses. The essence of prose responses (elicited through sentence completion, open-ended questions, critical incidents, case studies, films, photographs or journals) can be clearly presented by summarizing the responses, pointing out those that are most frequent or unique. The summary can be made more engaging by quoting a few representative responses.

Interpreting findings

It is the obligation (and opportunity) of the evaluator to see that the results of the evalution are interpreted responsibly. The trainer begins by studying all of the results and selecting those which are most important—important in that they are most *unexpected, revealing,* or *useful.* Care must be taken in selecting these results and caution must be exercised in interpreting them. It is with *substantial changes, basic contradictions* and *consistent patterns* over time that the interpreter is concerned.

Having selected the most significant results, the evaluator tries to account for them, to describe the most plausible reasons for the results. Again, caution is appropriate: cause-and-effect relationships are difficult to establish in the social sciences.

The long term objective is repetition of the evaluation. As the evaluation is conducted and carefully interpreted with different participants during different years, patterns emerge. The adviser's and administrator's knowledge of these patterns then becomes the basis for more accurate, more confident planning—and for more effective international education.

Mounting the program

If the preparation has been thorough, the staff should move easily into the performance. The director sets the pace and leads the way. Aware of what each staff member and participants bring to the program, the director coordinates the training events and encourages individuals in their unique contributions. When it is over, he or she shares the glories, listens for the applause, reads the reviews and... begins planning the next program.

One final word

One of the terms that appears regularly in this chapter and is heard repeatedly in training circles is "effectiveness" or even "intercultural effectiveness." In concrete terms, we could say this means "being able to live and work with people who are culturally different without being offensive; being understood by others and understanding them most of the time; and being at ease with ourselves and others in most cross-cultural situations."

Everyone can site examples of people who manage the most difficult of situations with ease and great effectiveness, and of people who seem to have a chronic case of "foot-in-mouth" disease, even though they apparently mean well. Some attempt has been made, therefore, to identify the components of "effectiveness" in intercultural relations, and the means by which one can learn to be effective. A final, undisputed compilation of traits, abilities and/or characteristics that constitute "effectiveness' has yet to emerge. But certain traits are commonly mentioned in literature about intercultural effectiveness. An effective cross-cultural communicator is often described as a person who has rather vague boundaries of self, who tolerates ambiguity well, and who is adaptable to new stimuli, social conventions and behavioral demands. This person is skillful at observing and interpreting the cultural features of behavior and displaying respect for other cultures and their peoples. Finally, this person is able to accept his or her own failures, understand his or her own cultural roots and their effect on personal behavior, and has a well developed sense of humor.

This is a tall order, and we suspect few if any individuals can measure up in all these ways. The aim of cross-cultural training is to assist individuals to begin increasing their capacity to incorporate as many of these abilities and attributes as possible into their personal style of behaving and communicating. The process is ongoing, and it is rarely possible for participants to learn all they need to know or to become accomplished intercultural communicators in any one training program. Understanding why people have different patterns of beliefs, values, thinking, behavior and communicative styles, making tentative adaptations to different cultural environments and developing respect for those who are unlike oneself are respectable goals for training. Many trainees will develop real coping strategies or pick up useful tools that will serve them well in cross-cultural situations. All, it is hoped, will be challenged to see differences as a resource for living in a multicultural world.

Resources for cross-cultural training

A decade ago the good resources readily available to cross-cultural trainers could be counted on one hand. Many were fugitive, shared among people in the field and rarely found in "print." Since then, there has been a veritable explosion of publishing in this area, and it is getting more and more difficult to keep up with the books, articles and other resources that roll off the press.

We have tried to select those we feel are especially useful. We confess to our own biases—these sources have served us well and we do not hesitate to recommend them. However, this is an intentionally limited list, and we urge readers to consider it a jumping-off point in their own exploration of training and theoretical materials.

Most of the materials listed here are "culture-general," that is, they deal with culture as a human phenomenon and/or with the dynamics of intercultural relations. The few items that relate to specific cultures have been included because they have strong implications for any intercultural experience.

The list is divided into seven sections: theoretical writings; training methods; applied intercultural communication; program evaluation; journals with an intercultural focus; a brief list of films frequently used in cross-cultural training programs; and other resources that defy categorization. For beginners, we have starred those books that we think are fundamental.

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**CONDON, J.C. & YOUSEF, F. *An introduction to intercultural communication.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Co., 1975.
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HALL, E.T. *Beyond culture.* Garden City, NY: Anchor Press, 1976.
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**SAMOVAR, L.A. & PORTER, R.E. (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader (2nd Ed).* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc. 1976.
SMITH, E.C. & LUCE, L.F. *Toward internationalism: Readings in cross-cultural communication.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, Inc., 1979.
**STEWART, E.C. *American cultural patterns: A cross-cultural perspective.* Washington, D.C.: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research 1972. (Available from Intercultural Network.)

Training methods

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ENGEL, H.M. *Handbook of creative learning exercises.* Houston: Gulf Publishing Co., 1973.
**HOOPES, D.S. & VENTURA, P. (Eds.). *Intercultural sourcebook.* Washington, DC: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1979. (Available from Intercultural Network.)
KOHLS, R. & AX, E. *Methodologies for Trainers: A compendium of learning strategies.* Washington, DC: Future Life Press, 1979. (1629 K Street, NW, Suite 5129, Washington, DC, 20006.)

**RUBEN, B.D. & BUDD, R.W. *Human communication handbook: Simulations and games.* Rochelle Park, NY: Hayden Book Company, Inc., 1975.
**WEEKS, W., PEDERSEN, P.B. & BRISLIN, R.W. *A manual of structured experiences for cross-cultural learning.* Washington, DC: Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research, 1977. (Available from Intercultural Network.)

Applied Intercultural Communication

BRISLIN, R.W. & PEDERSEN, P. *Cross-cultural orientation programs.* New York, NY: Gardner Press, 1976.
**DARROW, K. & PALMQUIST, B. *The transcultural study guide.* Palo Alto, CA: Volunteers in Asia, 1975. (Available from Volunteers in Asia, Box 4543, Stanford, CA, 94305.)
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Program evaluation

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Journals

International and Intercultural Communication Annual. Speech Communication Association, Falls Church, VA. (Available from Intercultural Network.)
International Journal of Intercultural Relations. Society for Eudcation, Training and Research, Washington, DC (Available from Pergamon Press, Inc., Fairview Park, Elmsford, NY 10523.)
Journal of Communication. International Communication Association, Annenberg School of Communication, Philadelphia, PA.
The Bridge. Center for Research and Education. Denver, CO. (Available from CRE, 1800 Pontiac, Denver, CO 80220).
Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. Western Washington State University, Department of Psychology. (Available from Sage Publications, P.O. Box 776, Beverly Hills, CA 90231.)

Films

Balablock. An animated illustration of how we react to differences in other. 7½ minutes, color. Available from Encyclopedia Britannica Films, 425 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, IL 60611.
Boundary Lines. An animated film examining the numerous "boundaries" which keep

people apart. Some of the boundaries that are considered are wealth, religion, color and origin. 13 minutes, color. Available from McGraw-Hill Films, 330 West 43rd St., New York, NY 10036.

Chairy Tale. Man meets chair. Man attempts to sit on chair. Chair revolts. The ensuing struggle, first for mastery and then for understanding, forms the story. The classic film on the need for empathy. 10 minutes, black and white. Available from Syracuse University Film Rental Center, 1455 East Calvin St., Syracuse, NY 13210.

Eye of the Beholder. A small drama that demonstrates how people can perceive the same event differently. Amusing. Good discussion starter. 30 minutes, black and white. Available from Film Rental Center of Syracuse University and Allegheny Intermediate Unit, Instructional Materials Services, 5-B, One Allegheny Square, Pittsburgh, PA 15212.

Invisible Walls. Demonstration of proxemic behavior and how individuals react when their personal space is violated. Focuses on common American beliefs about personal space. 12 minutes, black and white. Available from Film Rental Center of Syracuse University (address above).

Pictures in Your Mind. Animated commentary on the significance of cultural and perceptual differences in human relations. 20 minutes, color. Available from McGraw-Hill films (address above).

The Wall. An amusing animated film about differences in values as reflected in different approaches to problem-solving. 4 minutes, color. Available from Contemporary Films, McGraw-Hill, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020.

Walls and Walls. Emphasizes how we wall others out but ourselves in by dealing with the literal walls that have been built against physical dangers, symbolic walls such as flags, and "personal walls" erected as protection from being hurt. Also concentrates on walls represented by prejudice and stereotypes. 10 minutes, color. Available from Film Rental Center of Syracuse University (Address above).

Where is Prejudice? Ethnically diverse group of young liberal Americans gathers at Cape Cod to explore the nature of prejudice. They are shocked to find it is deeply imbedded within themselves. Powerful, disturbing film. 60 minutes, black and white. Available from Indiana University Audiovisual Center, Field Services Department, Bloomington, IN 47401.

Film lists

ACKERMAN, J.M. (Ed.). *Films for a changing world, a critical international guide. vol 2.* Society for International Development, 1977.

COMSEC Film List. Washington, DC: National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, 1978.

Other resources

Bridge Book Store
CRE
1800 Pontiac, Box 104
Denver, CO 80220
(Mail order book store specializing in items in the field of international relations—request a catalog.)

Evaluation Associates
Box 244
Pinckney, MI 48169

Institute for Behavioral Sciences
250 Ward Street, Suite 226
Honolulu, HA 96841

Intercultural Press, Inc.
70 W. Hubbard St.
Chicago, IL 60610

NTL/LEARNING Resources Corporation
7594 Eads Avenue
LaJolla, CA 92037

SIMILE II (simulation games such as "Bafa-Bafa" and "Star Power")
P.O. Box 910
Del Mar, CA 92014

SIETAR
1414 22nd St., N.W.
Washington, DC. 20037
(A professional organization for individuals in intercultural educaton, training and research)

University Associates (various human relations books and methodologies)
LaJolla, CA 92037

5. Communication and problem-solving across cultures

Felipe Korzenny

Issues

Problem-solving in new cultural settings is a topic of special interest to practitioners of intercultural programs who wish not only to give their participants survival information, but also to help them with creative and versatile adaptation to the new culture in which they are expected to function.

Foreign students (in the U.S. or abroad) are a special example of persons who are expected to perform in unknown or almost unknown cultural settings. They are expected to function well immediately upon arrival in a physical environment and a social milieu that is not necessarily prepared to host them, and they are supposed to obtain high grades in courses taught in a foreign language.

Problem-solving will be defined here as the type of human activity which is geared to change some undesirable state of affairs into a more desirable state. This definition is intentionally ambitious and wide in scope. The undesirable state of affairs for a foreign student includes feelings of strangeness, having culture shock, and being unfamiliar with the psychology of a new social context. The solution sought is to find methods by which the students can achieve a satisfying level of performance and initiate and continue a successful academic career.

Culture here is defined as the set of behaviors (verbal and nonverbal), materials, world view, values, symbols and designs for living which are a tradition of a society and which are transmitted from generation to generation within one group of people (Kluckhohn and Strodbeck, 1961; Prosser, 1978).

Culture can be conceptualized as a phenomenological set. Singer (1976) postulates that culture can be defined as a set of perceptions shared by a group of individuals. If culture is a way of perceiving the world, then each culture can vary along a continuum of similarity and difference of perception of different material and social objects. Conceptualizing culture as a set of shared perceptions makes salient the *subjectivity* that is characteristic of intercultural encounters. Simply stated, there are differing modal ways in which individuals from different cultures understand the same idea. For example, Westerners tend to conceive of academia as a creative enterprise, while many others perceive it as a rigid "truth seeking" enterprise. Experience with some foreign students in the U.S. indicates that they may, at least initially, be extremely confused when one right solution to a certain problem is not proposed. Academia may be perceived by these students to be a more

rigid system than it is perceived to be by U.S. students. The perceptual set of these foreign students may lead them to believe that they are simply expected to remember their teachers' words and explicit teachings. However, the foreign students may be expected in reality to propose whatever ideas they can scientifically defend.

This paper is directed to people who work with foreign students. The issues for them to consider are (1) the role of communication in problem-solving; (2) some theoretical orientations that characterize diverse problem-solving styles; and (3) suggestions for utilizing these theoretical frameworks in their advising and training of foreign students.

At the end of the essay is a list of annotated references which will allow further examination of the field of problem-solving.

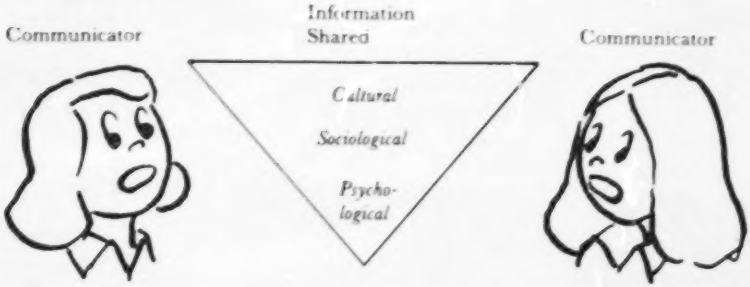
Assumptions about communication and problem-solving

The first assumption made here is that communication is the central focus of problem-solving by foreign students. Communication problems are the most pressing and most stress-producing events once a certain satisfactory level of physical well being is achieved.

Miller and Steinberg (1976) argue that communication consists of a continuous effort of making predictions about the behaviors of others while in interaction with them. The more information one has about the persons one is interacting with, the more valid and accurate are the predictions that can be made. Such information includes the context in which the interaction takes place. In an *intracultural* situation individuals share much more *information* than they do in an *intercultural* situation. Three different levels of information can be said to be important when communicating: cultural, sociological and psychological. Cultural information refers to the patterns of behavior that are shared and traditionally used among the people who comprise a culture. Sociological information refers to phenomena which are peculiar to particular social groups within one culture, such as, groups based on age, sex, or institutional and religious affiliations. Psychological information refers to the modes of behavior of particular individuals within different social groups and different cultures, such as their degree of empathic capacity, dogmatism, sense of personal responsibility, or extraversion.

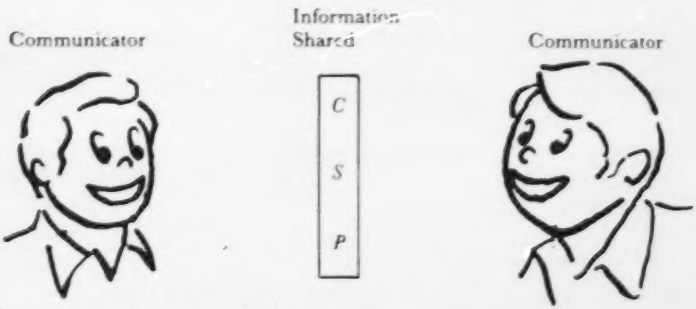
In the *intracultural* situation the amount of information shared by the participants in the communication event when individuals first meet is largely at the cultural level. Intraculturally, the number of accurate predictions possible is proportional to the quantity of information shared. In Figure 1 the intracultural communication situation is depicted by emphasizing the different amounts of information shared at the three different levels.

Figure 1. The intracultural situation



In the *intercultural* situation the amount of information shared by individuals who meet for the first time is restricted at all three levels, as Figure 2 illustrates, and few successful predictions about the behavior of each of the participants can be made.

Figure 2. The intercultural situation



Even though learning theories are traditionally focused on the psychological level, the point here is that problem-solving can take place at all three levels, and all require communication to define and propose solutions to problems. The information deficit encountered in the intercultural situation is the key to understanding the difficulties in communicative interactions for problem-solving.

A second assumption in this framework is that intercultural and not cross-cultural communication is the focus in problem-solving.

Harms (1973) describes intercultural communication and cross-cultural communication as distinct endeavors. Intercultural communication, according to Harms, is two-way, takes place in dyads or in small groups, has a mutual purpose, is mostly unofficial and informal,

with the message developing during the interaction, and involves participants who are interdependent in seeking some goal or goals. On the other hand, cross-cultural communication is characterized as one-way, directed to a large group, having a single purpose, tending to be official and formal, with a prepared message and a hierarchical approach.

If this distinction between intercultural and cross-cultural communication is accepted, it follows that successful problem-solving can occur only in the intercultural communication context. As Miller and Steinberg (1976) argue, it is here that a psychologically meaningful, transactional and interdependent interaction happens. This is not to say that problem-solving may not take place cross-culturally, but in international education there is the danger that the cross-cultural method of problem-solving may be susceptible to paternalism and condescension.

A third assumption is that it is not only the foreign students who are blind to the patterns of cultural difference that they encounter. The receiving culture also is blind to the details of the cultural differences manifested by foreign students. It is usually assumed that the foreign student should be trained to be more effective, but seldom does one find examples of educational efforts directed at the community where the foreign student is to live and be productive. With this assumption in mind, it may well become a major function of foreign student advisers to prepare the academic and non-academic community to receive foreign students. Problem solving in an intercultural frame of reference is a mutual enterprise, and the reconciliation of cultural differences and their understanding is dependent on the efforts of both sides. All efforts aimed at informing the public about differences in perception due to cultural differences would serve the goal of facilitating communication and making the problem-solving task of everyday interaction an easier one.

Problem-solving approaches: theoretical perspectives and suggestions

Now we turn to an examination of the different ways in which problem-solving has been viewed in the work of some researchers and theoreticians.

C.G. Jung's model

Jung posited the existence of basic psychic functions. He called them thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition:

> Here we are concerned primarily with a mode of apprehending and assimilating psychic data, regardless of their content. Thus thinking is the function which seeks to apprehend the world and adjust to it by way of thought or cognition, i.e., logical inferences. The function of feeling, on the other hand,

> apprehends the world through an evaluation based on the feelings of 'pleasant or unpleasant, acceptance or rejection.' Both these functions are termed *rational*, because both work with evaluations and judgments.... Jung calls the other two functions, sensation and intuition, the *irrational* functions, because they circumvent the ratio and operate not with judgments but with mere perceptions which are not evaluated or interpreted. Sensation perceives things as they are and not otherwise. It is the sense of reality, par excellence... Intuition also 'perceives,' but less through the conscious apparatus of the senses than through its capacity for an unconscious 'inner perception' of the inherent potentialities of things. The sensation type, for example, will note all the details of an historical event but disregard the general context in which it is set; the intuitive type, on the other hand, will pay little attention to the details but will have no difficulty in discerning the inner meaning of the event, its possible implications and effects. (Jacobi, 1962, pp. 112-13)

These psychic functions have been researched to determine basic personality types (Carskadon, 1977) and seem heuristic in understanding how individuals from different cultures approach problem solving tasks (Casse, 1977).

Jung also distinguishes between two main psychic attitudes, extraversion and introversion.

> Extraversion is characterized by a positive relation to the object, introversion by a negative one. In his adjustment and reaction pattern, the extravert orients himself predominantly by the outward, collective norms, the spirit of his times, etc. The attitudes of the introvert, on the other hand, are determined mainly by subjective factors. Often he is poorly adjusted to his environment. (Jacobi, 1962, pp. 18-19).

The combination of the four basic functions (thinking, feeling, sensation and intuition) and the two attitude types (extraversion and introversion) render a wide spectrum of combinations useful in understanding the different styles that individuals may be used to employing when they confront new situations. Students from certain cultures could be conceived of as being mostly introverts and intuitive, while Americans, in general, could be thought of as being predominantly extraverts and thinking (Stewart, 1976). In this case the non-American student may lack understanding about the processes that go on around him when trying to adapt to the environment. Since this is in itself a problem-solving task, the student's problem-solving potential may be impaired. A person working with this student can use this analysis to bring about an awareness on the part of the student and others of the student's predominant mode of problem-solving.

Various ways of diagnosing and dealing with problems are possible and perhaps equally plausible (Zaltman and Duncan, 1977). It seems that the possibility of cooperation for a mutually enriching intercultural experience can be enhanced by accepting differences in problem-solving approaches. Of course, the educational task of the receiving institution is and should be preserved, not in impoverishing the behavioral repertoire of the student by restricting ways of looking at the world, but in adding options. Also, when the response expected from the student is to be the "right" response, the methods for arriving at it may not necessarily be unique, e.g., an introvert intuitive person may process the information in a more global fashion than an extravert thinker, but the ultimate outcomes can be equally "right" (Ewing, 1977).

Miller, Nunnally and Wackman model

Miller, Nunnally and Wackman (1975) provide us with a model for awareness of self and others that is intended to improve communication in interpersonal relationships. They argue that we have several capacities which enable us to deal with interpersonal communication problems. Sensing, thinking, feeling, wanting and doing are the main dimensions of the self. If one can be aware of these five dimensions and be able to express them to others, this activity is expected to enable others we interact with to assess (1) the nature of the problem, and (2) possible responses that may produce a solution and consequently enhance the relationship. One is also expected to prompt or facilitate the disclosure of the others' awareness by checking into their sensing, feeling,thinking, wanting and actions. A third major step is to listen carefully so that paraphrasing of the other's communication is possible in order to correct misunderstandings. Fourth, one should always speak for oneself and not for others. Fifth, the establishment of contracts for interaction is suggested so that topics of interest to partners in a communication relationship can be dealt with at a convenient time, place and with the investment of the appropriate amount of energy.

The Miller, Nunnally and Wackman model helps correct the frequent error of assuming that we are dealing with one type of problem when in reality we are dealing with one another. Four main problem areas occur in interpersonal encounters: task, relationship, self and the other. It is not uncommon for a dyad to pretend it is dealing with a task problem while in reality the issues raised at a covert level are *relationship* issues. Put-downs and competitive behavior, for example, may disrupt work on a task because the messages participants send are relational ones.

Advisers can use this model in helping students disclose and share information with those with whom they are to solve problems. However, there are limits to this approach. Self-disclosure may be valued or rewarded in one culture but not in another. In addition, this model

assumes a cooperative and not a competitive relationship. The disclosure of one's awareness can be detrimental in competitive situations.

This kind of problem-solving approach is potentially useful more in transcending culture than in explaining cultural differences. When all parties in the problem-solving situation can express their self awareness and are able to help others share their own, it can be said that culture has been transcended.

E.T. Hall's model

Edward T. Hall, in his book *Beyond Culture* (1976), attempts to establish the conceptual foundation for transcending culture. He argues that cultures differ in the extent to which they rely on verbal messages to convey meaning. Patterns of behavior have a communicative function that constitutes a code for intracultural communication. In many societies a person of a higher rank usually carries a symbol of that status, such as a large office or a rug on the floor. Further, it is *understood* by everyone in the culture that the mobility and behavior expected of a subordinate in the space of the superior are restricted by unspoken rules that are carefully observed. The subordinate is expected to ask for an appointment, sit when permitted and where indicated, wear certain dress, and be humble. The time of the audience also is determined in advance and the subordinate may wait longer to see the supervisor than vice versa.

Not all cultures assign the same importance to these contextual aspects. More modern and pluralistic societies tend to rely on spoken language in order to accomplish a certain task or to get a message across. In these cultures, context is given less importance relative to the task at hand.

Time is handled linearly in these "low context" cultures, so that things are done one at a time. Verbal codes are given more importance when the context has multiple meanings for participants. Therefore, more heterogeneous societies rely more on what is said than on what is done and where it is done.

When individuals from low and high context cultures meet to solve a common problem, they often find difficulties in relating. Low-context individuals tend to pay more attention to the verbal messages and less to the context, while high-context individuals pay attention to movements and environmental aspects that are not noticed by others. In Latin America, for example, a strong "abrazo" (hug) and a smile may be more important than the task or business at hand and are, in fact, often more conducive to its successful conclusion than what is being said. Recognizing these differences between "low-context" and "high-context" cultures and learning to deal with them in intercultural situations is a prerequisite to getting "beyond culture," according to Hall's argument.

The high and low culture context conceptualization can be presented in training programs by means of the Blue and Red Exercise, which the author has devised for use in training and instruction. The exercise is intended to demonstrate the concept of culture-context and its implications for problem-solving.

For the exercise, participants are divided into two equal-sized groups, blues and reds. *Blue* and *red* individuals are supposed to engage in a common problem-solving task. The problem for each pair of participants, one red and one blue, is to design a method for obtaining four liters of liquid, precisely measured. No actual materials are distributed; participants are told that they can imagine that they have all the liquid they need, and that they have two- and three-liter containers without markings for use in accomplishing their task.

Blues are given this information about people of their culture:

> **Blues:** Place more importance on friendship and harmony than on work and productivity. Value work as a means of subsistence but are willing to sacrifice income when it comes to friendship. Take their time to do things. Talk a lot about family and about personal interests even on the job. Never discuss the mode of communication, just communicate. Usually let other people wait until ready to discuss an issue. Prefer to start an interaction by finding out as much as possible from the work partner. Like to discuss issues in public surroundings. Are more concerned with the friendly responsiveness of the partner than with winning a competition.

Reds are told this:

> **Reds:** Are highly competitive. Need to win to be satisfied. Usually discuss business in private. Do not want others to hear what may be disadvantageous. Go directly to the issue and hate to discuss personal matters when solving problems. Are very private individuals. Like to make things clear and define problems precisely in order to win.

Then all participants get this instruction:

> **Reds and blues:** Look for a partner of the opposite color and start the problem-solving task without ever discussing communication modes or the instructions provided. Each COLOR is supposed to behave as instructed.

Following 10 to 15 minutes of interaction, participants are asked to discuss the experience. Some questions for the discussion: (1) Did the simulation remind you of any real-life situation you have experienced? (2) Do you believe that the way the experience was handled by the

representatives of the two groups of participants made a difference in the amount of time needed to reach a solution? (3) What is the possibility of having individuals share the same orientation towards problem-solving? Is it possible to eliminate or de-emphasize cultural aspects when solving problems? (4) Was the solution to the problem as prompt and satisfactory as you might have desired? (If you couldn't solve the problem, could you have solved it if you worked with someone who shared your same cultural orientation?)

Resources

From the relatively large literature on the subject of problem-solving, only a few items are very helpful to practitioners in intercultural programs.

In order to expand on the sources already cited, some additional materials are mentioned and briefly described here. Adams (1974) contains a chapter on "Cultural and Environmental Blocks." The cultural blocks Adams discusses include these ideas: fantasy and reflection are a waste of time, lazy, even crazy; playfulness is for children only; problem-solving is a serious business and humor is out of place in it; reason, logic, numbers, utility, and practicality are good; feeling, intuition, qualitative judgments, and pleasure are bad; following tradition is preferable to change; any problem can be solved by scientific thinking and adequate quantities of money.

Bioudi (1972) is a general book on problem-solving which can be useful in prompting ideas regarding cultural styles of problem-solving. The most useful chapters are those called "Roadblocks to Creativity," "Problem Definition," "A Principle for Optimum Ideation," and "Reducing Resistance to Innovation."

Distefano (1972) has authored a paper based on Kluckholn and Strodbeck's value orientation scheme, applying it to diverse types of problems traditionally faced in corporations. The approach could be used in programs of interactions between members of different cultures, be they students or employees of multinational corporations.

An excellent summary of research on problem-solving, not necessarily in intercultural situations, is in Dodd (1973). It discusses the tasks typically used for investigation, the task variables researched, the subject-related variables and the concept of transfer. The bibliography is comprehensive and useful.

Another oft-quoted classic is Gagne (1970). Gagne distinguishes eight different types of learning: (1) signal learning; (2) stimulus-response learning; (3) chaining; (4) verbal association; (5) multiple discrimination; (6) concept learning; (7) rule learning; and (8) problem-solving. These types are sequential, in that each implies that the earlier have occurred, and they are developmental. Problem-solving involves

thinking in which principles are combined according to a "higher-order" rule.

Saral's article (1979) is relevant to problem-solving across cultures, since the author argues that intrapsychic communication is crucial for the understanding of other cultures. "Could it not be, then, that intercultural communication is merely human beings' desperate attempt to communicate with their known and not-yet-known selves? What I am suggesting is that intercultural communication is ultimately nothing but explanation of one's many selves." (p. 83).

Sarbaugh (1979) proposes the first well articulated taxonomy of the many variables that past research and theory have shown to impinge upon the effectiveness of intercultural communication. His taxonomy includes the channels of communication, the number of participants, the perceived relationship among the participants, the perceived intent of the communicators, their code systems, their normative patterns of beliefs and overt behaviors, and their world views. As participants are more heterogeneous with respect to these variables, communication and problem-solving among them becomes more difficult.

Schumacher (1977) discusses two kinds of problems, convergent and divergent. He argues that classical logical thinking is useful in solving convergent problems but that divergent problems cannot be solved. They can only be transcended. This approach seems useful in looking at intercultural problem-solving, since many of the issues of importance in today's world are divergent, while the methods used by Westerners have traditionally been adequate only for convergent problems.

Stewart (1979) discusses some of the culturally-influenced antecedents of the behavior that is usually called decision-making or problem-solving. He argues that different "orientations to action" are prevalent in different cultures and that they are crucial in understanding the processes and outcomes of intercultural communication encounters. He focuses on American orientations to action, and discusses them in terms of form of activity, work and play, temporal orientation, motivation, achievement, competition and affiliation and the limits of achievement and ascription.

An excellent resource for training is Weeks, Pedersen and Brislin (1977). This manual contains a number of experiential learning activities that can enhance understanding of problem-solving in intercultural situations. The section on "Brainstorming Tasks and Problems" seems especially relevant.

Summary

This paper has emphasized the importance of culture in the problem-solving enterprise. It is hoped that practitioners in international educational programs will find some value in the conceptual framework it

contains and in the heuristic suggestions and literature citations it provides. It should be clear that problem-solving across cultures is not a developed field that is founded on conclusive research and widely accepted theory. The most important result of this paper may perhaps be an added awareness of the issues involved in learning how to adapt to a new culture.

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Part II

Research on learning, and implications for educational interchange

Psychologists have long been interested in improving their understanding of the way in which human beings learn. Various theories about learning have been put forth, based on various observations and experiments. These theories concern such topics as the ways in which human beings perceive things; how they most readily acquire new information; how they store ("remember") it; how they classify it and/or combine it with other information they have already acquired; and how they use their acquired information as they encounter situations that are new to them.

Most of the research and studies about learning have been done by Westerners, using their own assumptions and methods. Until recently, little attention was given to the role of culture in learning. What is often called "cross-cultural learning" is getting more attention now, as social scientists give increasing attention to the intercultural contacts that are now occurring with increasing frequency. Cross-cultural learning is a term that has been used to refer to at least three different kinds of situations, each of which is of interest to practitioners in international educational interchange, and each of which receives attention in the essays in this part:

1. People from one culture learning about another culture.
2. People from one culture teaching other people from a different culture (e.g., the case of a U.S. faculty member teaching a class that includes students from Iran).
3. People from one culture in another culture in order to learn something (e.g., U.S. students in Rome to study art history).

In the first chapter of this part, Josef Mestenhauser of the University of Minnesota looks at "Selected learning concepts and theories" from a wide variety of disciplines and draws implications for people who work with foreign students and scholars. Then Richard Brislin of the East-West Center discusses "Learning styles," describing some of the factors that affect the way in which people learn.

6. Selected learning concepts and theories

Josef A. Mestenhauser

The literature about learning contains some 80 identifiable concepts, under such headings as cognition, thinking, perception and information processing. Various writers classify these concepts in accordance with their own preferred theories. Briefly, learning relates to the way a person abstracts information from the environment, remembers it, classifies it into concepts and categories, designs goals by using it in problem-solving and creates new knowledge. Some of this thinking is done formally (through what is called an "algorithmic process"), while some is learned by oneself through self-discovery ("heuristically"). We all recognize these processes and can tell with relative ease when they are taking place among students because there is a "behavior" which allows us to know what and how much has been learned and how the information is being used.

Scholars differ in their theories about learning and thinking, depending on how they think "behavior" of learning is caused, processed or evaluated. Some theorists, such as Skinner (1968), hold that thinking as a process is nonexistent. They recognize only the *behavior* that results from what other theorists call "learning." Other behaviorists hold that thinking and learning are the result of responses to stimuli; adherents of this view are called S-R behaviorists.

Other theorists, the cognitive behaviorists, believe that thinking is a goal-oriented system composed of smaller systems organized hierarchically. Computer and programmed learning are based on these theories. Most educational activity in a university also is based on these approaches, which include some or all of the following methods: "scanning-and-holding" information, problem-solving, remembering, generating and classifying information and ordering and relating it to higher levels of thinking (the basis for conceptual thinking). As it appears from this extremely cursory discussion, all these concepts have practical implications for education, whether it is programmed or discovered, evaluated by results or by the process used (or both), or whether it is static or dynamic.

A critique of general psychological cognitive processes from the field of education can be best obtained from Farnham-Diggory (1972). While much of its content is not relevant to college students, it is a well organized text suitable for practitioners. An excellent summary of traditional S-R theories of learning is provided by Miller (1962). The other non-cross-culturally oriented classics include Skinner (1968), Brunner (1960), Gagne (1970) and Piaget (1950).

Concepts from general psychology have been used to consider learning in a cross-cultural perspective. Learning theory that has a cross-

cultural perspective differs from traditional learning psychology "particularly in the classes of independent and antecedent variables considered to be important, the classes of dependent or consequent variables that are measured and quantified and the degree of ambiguity and looseness that is tolerated in the functional relationship recorded," (Brislin, 1975). Culture and sub-culture are the independent variables when learning is viewed cross-culturally. Important work is only now being done in this area, and some important conceptual and methodological difficulties are being encountered. Most of these studies of cross-cultural learning are about the effectiveness of Americans in other cultures, or they are examinations of some limited cognitive process among other peoples.

Most experimental studies in cross-cultural learning have concerned learning about another culture. Very little research has concerned learning some subject matter in one culture for application in another. The latter type of learning is of course quite important to people in the field of international exchange.

Many findings from studies in cross-cultural learning are incomplete, taken from small experimental studies, and often conflicting in conclusions, methods, definitions and implications for practitioners. Many of the experiments used by cross-culturally oriented scholars do not come from cross-cultural situations. Moreover, psychologists tend to use the term "culture" very broadly, applying it to distinctions based on social status, family socialization, class, or minority status. A valuable study is discussed in Triandis' (1972) writing on "subjective culture." This work has won acclaim for its complete design, useful theoretical foundation and sound methodology. An excellent analytical and critical review of these and other studies in cross-cultural learning is contained in Brislin (1975), which is "must" reading for those interested in this field. A few additional cross-cultural studies are very useful to students of cross-cultural cognitive behavior: Berry (1969) on cross-cultural comparability, Levine (1972) on ethnocentrism, and Foa and Chemers (1967) on interactions.

In order to assist readers in gaining an understanding of the literature and its practical implications, this chapter takes four themes that pervade the research and discusses them in a question-and-answer format. The four themes are the importance of prior learning; the importance of differentiation; the complexity of variables; and the utility of learning theories to practitioners.

Importance of prior learning

How important are foreign students' prior experiences, and how does new learning relate to these experiences?

Jervis (1976) believes that people fit new information into pre-existing beliefs, even when they could easily obtain evidence that the new information contradicts their previous beliefs. This is not an irrational distortion of evidence, as Jervis sees it, but a normal human tendency to try to maintain a consistent world view. New evidence will be taken into account through what Kuhn (1970) calls a "paradigm shift," when sufficient numbers of people begin to see the world in a different perspective, one that fits new and previously inconsistent information into a new world view.

There are three factors influencing the readiness with which new information is absorbed into a pre-existing world view. The new information is more likely to be absorbed (a) the more ambiguous the information is, (b) the more confident the person is that his image of the world is correct, and (c) the greater the commitment the person has to his established view. Guthrie (1975), discussing U.S. Peace Corps volunteers in the Philippines, describes a situation in which he saw very little readiness to absorb new information into previously held world views. He saw the volunteers as being in utterly novel or "non-continuous" situations where their previous world views were barely relevant. In these circumstances, as Guthrie saw it, they became fundamentally different people from what they had been in the U.S. Thus, Guthrie's impression is that people in another culture are different from what they were at home. Upon return, they revert back to their previous patterns of thought and behavior. Commenting critically on the personality trait theory of adjustment to other cultures, Guthrie and Spencer found that meek people may become dominant in another culture, while some of those who are stable at home may become unstable abroad. Berry (1975) expresses a different view, holding that learning about the second culture is definitely related to learning about the original culture. Behavior acquired in the first culture, he says, "is a powerful contributor" to the psychological distresses during the acculturation process. Piaget (1950) provides a synthesized version of these views and believes that new experience is both accommodated and assimilated with what has been learned from previous ones.

While most practitioners in educational interchange realize that foreign students do not arrive as *tabulae rasae,* they find it difficult to assess the great range and complexity of the students' previous experiences, and often treat their behavior in the United States without much reference to the students' past.

Research on the subject of the role of previous learning in the learning of new information, even though not necessarily conducted from a cross-cultural prespective, has some *implications* for educational interchange practitioners.

—None of these learning theories relates to study in a traditional academic discipline in another culture.

—Initial impressions and experiences of a sojourner appear to be very important, no matter which theory of learning is accepted. The non-continuity argument would make the initial experience important because it starts new learning. The "fit-into-pre-existing conditions" theory would also suggest the importance of positive initial experiences. The sooner a person is exposed to a new "paradigm" the better for the "paradigm shift."

—The pre-exisitng experiences do not mean solely personal; family or school experiences. They include events and conditons in the entire country or culture which affect the "perceptual predisposition" of many people. Examples of such events are wars, revolutions, famines, and natural disasters. (Jervis, 1976).

—The variables which influence such perceptual pre-disposition are these: (a) Did the person experience the event first-hand? (b) Did it occur early in life or career? (c) Did it have important consequences to self or country? (d) Is the person familiar with alternative perceptions? (Jervis, 1976).

—Events of special importance have such a great impact on the individual that his/her perceptual predisposition will be affected regardless of whether he or she participated in the event. Iranian students' perceptual predisposition's were affected by events in their own country between 1979-80.

—Perceptual pre-dispositions are important in the "attribution theory" (Triandis, 1975 and Jervis, 1976). Thus, an American professor may react in various ways to the foreign student depending on whether he or she thinks that difficulties in the foreign student's work is caused by laziness, playboyish behavior, underprivileged background, or lack of intellectual ability.

Importance of learning differentiation

Do foreign students (or U.S. students abroad) have adequate, meaningful, and relevant experiences and opportunities to learn to differentiate aspects of American (or foreign) culture and society?

Differentiation is a recognition of the parts that comprise a whole, and the ability to put the parts together in new ways, into a higher system. Although there is no research on cross-cultural aspects of differentiation, there is no reason to doubt that this aspect of learning is applicable in cross-cultural aspects of differentiation. Most intercultural programs are based on the assumption that foreign students learn to differentiate the American culture when and if they have more knowledge about it (Triandis, 1975). Orientation of U.S. students for study abroad is based on the same assumptions. Needless to say, faculty hold these views when they give lectures about U.S. life, history and culture to foreign students, or about other cultures to U.S. students.

Unfortunately, it may not be safe to assume that differentiation takes place so naturally in cross-cultural learning situations. First, the rote learning habit that many students bring to the U.S. from their home cultures makes it more difficult to differentiate because it fixes information into static categories (Farnham-Diggory, 1972). Second, there are powerful cultural pressures which mitigate against breaking up of accepted world views for the purpose of analysis and synthesis. Third, people tend to differentiate more in their own culture than in the second culture (Jervis, 1976). Fourth, since culture-learning is comparative, differentiation across cultures may lead to misperceptions, distortions and inaccuracies. And fifth, there is a tendency in intercultural situations to perceive complicated events and conditions as if they were caused by a highly planned and centralized effort (Jervis, 1976). This tendency makes it difficult to entertain the possibility that events happened accidentally and at random.

The *implications* of these ideas about differentiation are significant to orientation programs. In addition, ideas about this aspect of learning can be used in relating a field of study to its cultural setting. Most importantly, differentiation is a prerequisite to successful integration of learning. It can be used throughout the foreign students' stay by providing reinforcing and integrating experiences:

—If people differentiate differently in their own culture than in the second culture, then it is of utmost importance that practitioners, if they want to maximize the learning potential of their programs, include both Americans and foreign students in those programs. Sponsoring organizations, when they insist on having programs produced for the benefit of foreign students only, are ignoring important research evidence about differentiation. Foreign students would learn better how to differentiate the U.S. culture and their subject matter if they had the example of the U.S. students' ways of thinking about those things.

—Programs describing American life, history and culture appear to be very important to the foreign students' understanding of the way in which we differentiate about ourselves.

—Differentiation about American culture and society is very important to foreign students' understanding of the elements which make their academic fields uniquely "American" or "culture-bound," even in the so-called hard sciences, which are not supposed to have national or cultural boundaries. Foreign students are often not sufficiently motivated to attend programs about U.S. culture and society. Perhaps we make a mistake in appealing to them for attendance on the ground that they should learn about U.S. culture. The more appealing argument may be that of understanding the part of U.S. culture which relates to their disciplines.

—Experience with the University of Minnesota's Learning with Foreign Students program (discussed in Chapter 9), in which foreign

students lecture about their countries and events and conditions in them, indicate definitely that U.S. students learn to differentiate about other countries. See also Brislin (1975) for evidence that a comparative government course increased differentiation, which leads to increased dimensionality of judgment toward other nations.

—The most important reason for accurate differentiation relates to the problem of integration of learning. Unless differentiation occurs, integration does not take place, or is distorted. Differentiation is related to the process of storing information (Feigenbaum, 1963). People first retain what they already know. New information is then checked against what is already stored. If it fits, it will be added. If it does not fit, a "new bin" will be created for it, and will probably remain there, even if subsequent insight will reveal that it did fit into the original bin. To use an analogy to describe this sort of integration learning, it can be said to be like an onion. It makes an appearance of a whole, but it is composed of layers of loosely connected parts which can be peeled off separately; there is no real integration.

Complexity of cross-cultural education

Are cross-cultural and international education so complex that they cannot be comprehended? Are there too many risks? Are foreign students in the United States and U.S. students abroad too disadvantaged?

In spite of the great complexities and potential for distortions, foreign students in the past have been found to perform academically as well as if not better than their U.S. counterparts. There is also evidence that they learned a great deal about their fields of study, about themselves, their countries, and about the United States (Spaulding and Flack, 1975).

Studies of academic achievement of foreign students are unfortunately outdated now, and lack detailed breakdowns by graduate and undergraduate students, by countries of origin, by fields of study, and other important variables. It is possible that the "new" foreign student may not compare as favorably as his predecessor, as some now claim. Until adequate data are available, this will be a matter for speculation.

One of the variables leading to foreign students' academic success may well be that they bring with them "natural, self-motivating" inquisitiveness and abilities to understand increasing complexities through coordinated responses to them (Farnham-Diggory, 1972). There is also the possibility that many of the foreign students coming to the United States represent the "sharpeners" (Forgus and Melamed, 1976) of their societies. Psychologists attempting to establish a link between cognition and motivation distinguish between so-called "sharpeners" and the "levelers," depending on their cognitive style, i.e., on the way in which they cope with the environment and approach

their daily tasks. The "sharpeners" are more differentiated in their thinking, more articulate, seek adventure and expose themsleves to the unknown. They have more energy, and expend more effort in their tasks. The "levelers," on the other hand, tend to be more security oriented, look for the familiar, avoid exposing themselves to the unknown, and tend to be more closed-minded. While the "sharpeners" are more adaptable to new situations and more creative, the "levelers" lead a safe life, but if thrown into an unpredictable situation, may not have the cognitive resources to deal with stress of the new situation (Holzman and Gardner, 1960). Although this research is not cross-cultural, the distinction between "sharpeners" and "levelers" might help practitioners understand the apparent differences in motivation they see as they watch foreign students employ various tactics to compensate for handicaps of language, financial difficulties and differences in educational systems.

Another factor supporting foreign students' academic success in the face of difficult odds may be the least expected—the rote system. While it may limit one's ability to differentiate, as we have discussed, the habit of rote learning may have a creative and constructive aspect (Farnham-Diggory, 1972). The habit may enable students to build the "network of cues" needed to retain information in and retrieve it from the memory. In addition, the experience of the new culture and academic system may unleash "spontaneous academic persistence" (Farnham-Diggory, 1972) of the kind associated with Montessori teaching. In 1979, we experienced a situation in which a condition of educational deprivation in the People's Republic of China contributed to an enormous energy and motivation "to catch up." There is reason to believe that many foreign students coming to the U.S. for higher education exhibit the same phenomenon, including the exaggerated level of expectation which often produces problems when expectations are measured against reality.

Cole has provided another perspective about the popular assumption that cultural deprivation produces cognitive "deficits" (Cole, 1975). He interpreted the "failure to produce" on standardized tests against the native cultural background, and learned that the native subjects did have the cognitive skills and talents needed to solve their own problems. He was impressed by the ability of illiterate rural farmers in Liberia to apply complex cognitive skills to their social situations, while failing to use these same skills in experimental tests (Cole, 1975).

Here are some practical *implications* of these remarks about the complexity of the experience of educational exhange:

—There is clinical evidence that "cognitive deprivation," while it may be a real problem for foreign students as well as for our minority students, can be overcome rapidly through education, training, counseling and support services.

—There are some individual and cultural differences— as yet difficult to understand fully— concerning the so-called Short-Term Memory (STM). Foreign students may be likely to experience difficulties in this area due to the need to "recode" lectures (write notes) simultaneously as the lecture is being presented (Farnham-Diggory, 1972). Inaccurate notes then do not permit rehearsing, which is essential to Long-Term Memory (LTM). (Forgus and Melamed, 1976).

—It is likely that the academic performance problems foreign students typically experience during their first term may be due to these problems of scanning and holding, and with the Short-Term Memory, rather than to deficiencies in motivation or academic ability.

—We must be extremely careful about assuming that cognitive deprivations are serious handicaps. Assuming that they are can give rise to stereotyped thinking such as "Philipinos do not reason" or "Africans do not know how to classify." A great deal of knowlege of these countries and cultures must exist before such statements can be made with accuracy (Brislin, 1975). In other instances these assumptions about foreign students' cognitive deficiencies may stem from practitioners' efforts to justify special services for foreign students. Exaggerated arguments about the students' "deprivation" may lead to paternalism.

—There is currently some questioning in the U.S. about the role of foreign students. There is danger in seeking simple solutions to the "foreign student problem" by insisting that "private foreign students" should pay the full cost of their education, and that subsidies should come for sponsored students through various schemes of "institution building." If such policies are adopted, we would fail to capitalize on foreign students' "natural self-motivating" inquisitiveness and their "spontaneous academic persistence," (Farnham-Diggory, 1972). There is no evidence that sponsored students possess these qualities, in spite of extensive (and often expensive) screening procedures used in selecting them.

—Practitioners do not usually have adequate conceptual training and background with which to explain the complexities of cross-cultural learning, or to interpret inquiries about it. They usually deal with "unique" situations and handle them one at a time. This lack of conceptual skills is evident not only among personnel associated with universities, but also among personnel affiliated with government agencies, foundations and sponsors.

Utility and practicality of learning theories

Most educational exchange practitioners, such as foreign student advisers and community members, do not teach. How do these learning theories relate to them?

Most practitioners in educational interchange have much more influence over the learning process than they realize. Here are some

things they can do to enhance the experience of students studying abroad:

1. Provide a stimulating atmosphere for learning. Study habits are definitely affected by stimulation (Berlyne, 1954).

2. Teach or provide information about skills and abilities students need in order to cope with the school environment. Inability to deal with a few aspects of daily student life inhibits learning.

3. Assist students in setting goals and in dealing with expectations, aspirations, success and failure. Learning theories hold these to be important variables (Farnham-Diggory, 1972).

4. In cases of academic failure, assess causes, find learning problems, and find alternative course of action. Cross-cultural learning problems may be different from those which appear on the surface.

5. Help create conditions for acceptance of foreign students as partners in learning. Rejection of foreign students, even "low level ethnocentric" absence of interest in them, breeds isolation that in turn may cause sensory deprivation.

6. Provide meaningful practical experiences. In spite of our protestations, we educate foreign students by rote more than is recognized. Practical experiences are an "engine of conceptual development" (Piaget, 1950).

7. Find opportunities for leadership experiences. If it is true that many foreign students are field independents (FI), they may not be good in organizations and in development projects. Research indicates that this may be the case (Triandis, 1975).

8. Apply pedagogical strategies to programs, especially orientation programs (Farnham-Diggory, 1972):

a) Remember that capacity to scan and hold is limited.

b) Start with the familiar.

c) Provide organizing principles in advance, and present them in more than one way, e.g., both vebally and visually.

d) Use audio-visual aids, but not alone. Auditory memories are more efficient.

9. Competence to argue and doubt, and the ability to defend a judgment, are related to achievement, provided that the arguing and defending are done in a rational way.

10. Urge students from other countries to learn about United States life and culture. Their complaints that this is either "brainwashing" or an "attempt at dependency relationships" are inaccurate. In fact, the opposite is true. Dependency is a result of not knowing about the culture. Understanding the host culture gives the sojourner more control over his/her environment.

11. Remain absolutely ethical in dealing with students and their problems. Only the highest ethical standards will retain the respect of the students and the credibility of the entire field. The importance of this point cannot be overstated.

12. Understand that students' perceptions are heavily influenced by their immediate concerns, the "evoked set" (Jervis, 1976). "The evoked set may be strong enough to lead a person to ignore information that is not relevant to his immediate concerns even if in retrospect it seems clear that the message merited serious attention" (Jervis, 1976, p. 204).

13. The "U"curve of adjustment, an idea long familiar to people working in foreign student affairs, has been shown to describe the experience of U.S. Peace Corps volunteers in the Philippines (Szanton, 1967; and Guthrie, 1975).

14. In spite of the claims of social scientists that we educate foreign students in analytical and critical thinking habits and abilities, there is in the U.S. system more learning by rote and by imitation than we recognize. This is because (a) imitation is a form of accommodation and adjustment (Piaget, 1950); (b) many things are learned by example (rote); (c) many things can only be learned by rote; and (d) some social science "modeling" encourages learning by imitation, especially if there is a pre-existing receptivity to that method.

15. Reinforcement learning theories should be used with real caution. Contingency management theory (Homme, 1966) holds that what reinforces one thing for one person may be reinforcing the opposite thing in another person.

16. Provide meaningful resolution to various real and potential conflict of values and cognitive dissonances. Provide "epistemic motivation" opportunities (Berlyne, 1954), e.g., opportunities to restore an emotional balance.

17. Assist the U.S. community, on and off the campus, to perceive the foreign students cognitively as equals. People who have previously regarded foreign students as inferiors not only have to adjust to the new conditions of equality, but have to change many other things as well (Jervis, 1976). Having foreign students as equals and partners in learning and human development is perhaps the best reason for having them in the United States at all. If Americans isolate themselves, they will suffer the same sensory deprivation as isolated foreign students do.

18. There is not only a "culture shock" and a "language shock" but also an "educational shock" (Hoff, 1979). Foreign students, taking tests on the use of libraries, answered only 6 out of 15 questions correctly. Even though there are often thought to be many characteristics common to higher education everywhere, there were 89 variables in Hoff's study which foreign students found were different in the American educational system. Four of these were listed as serious barriers to learning, while four others were moderate barriers. Sixteen caused serious learning problems and five moderate learning problems. Interestingly, six were barriers, but were evaluated as a "good thing" for foreign students to accept.

19. The increasing pressure to re-examine our international educational efforts in relation to their relevance for third world development

requires professionals in the exchange field to become more important learning and educational resources than they are now. Such resources appear to be especially needed in the areas of goal setting, understanding of social change, and future orientation.

Conclusion

Many of the ideas offered in this chapter have been presented in a briefer way than would be desirable. There are so many concepts and suggestions to be found in the literature about learning that it is not possible to provide full treatments of them here. The bibliographic references should make it possible for interested readers to further explore those ideas that are particularly interesting to them.

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7. Learning styles

Richard Brislin

The term "learning styles" refers to the various ways people acquire new information and attitudes, and the effects of the context in which the learning takes place. One assumption behind this essay about learning styles is that since readers already know a great deal about learning, they will acquire newer insights into learning from this review of recent psychological research on the subject. Another assumption is that, given limited space, a treatment of general issues applicable to a large number of sojourners will be more useful than a list of issues applicable to people from one or a few cultures.

Most of the research to be reported here has been carried out by psychologists. In all cases, research findings have been chosen so as to lead to possible application by educational interchange practitioners. Implications of the research will be presented immediately after findings are discussed. Hereafter, "advisers" will be the term used to refer to all people working in the broad area of educational interchange. Further, much of the research has been carried out by specialists in social psychology, the subdiscipline that deals with behavior of individual persons as a function of their interaction with others. Since so much of what happens to overseas sojourners includes interaction with others (e.g., friends, advisers, family members), the research findings of social psychologists should be especially helpful.

Importance of vivid images

Recent research indicates that, in addition to other styles, people think in terms of images that summarize events, or in terms of brief stories that summarize experiences with which they have been involved (also called "scripts," Abelson, 1976). When faced with a situation that is somewhat different from those encountered previously, people look back on their collection of images and scripts. They then apply one that seems to work in the new situation. Unfortunately, people "stop" this analysis at a point where they feel that a satisfactory or workable response has been found and do not necessarily carry forward their thinking to find a "good" or "best" response to what is happening to them now.

This research also has indicated that the image or script may be selected because of its vividness, or because of its direct, personal relevance to the individual's current concerns (or both) (Kahneman and Tversky, 1973; Ross, 1977; Taylor and Fiske, 1978.) Further, people accept such vivid scripts from others as important input in learning

about new situations, often ignoring other information that is packaged in a duller format. Consider this example: A foreign student wants to know whether or not to take a course from professor X. The student looks into the ratings of teachers published by the campus newspaper (such ratings are available at many schools), and finds this analysis. "Professor X, according to ratings from 200 students, is highly regarded as a teacher and as a person. He carefully prepares relevant and interesting lectures and makes himself easily available for consultations with students." Then, the foreign student happens to get into a conversation with a friend. The latter says, "I took a course from Professor X last year. He was dull, scatterbrained, and never showed up for posted office hours. I'd never take a course from him." What will the foreign student decide? Readers of this example can undoubtedly visualize that many quite reasonable individuals would accept the friend's advice. But, when considered carefully, people who accept the vivid, personalized script from someone else are ignoring, as in this case, the ratings provided by 200 other students. Instead of analyzing all information from 201 persons (the 200 from the ratings plus the friend), the decision maker is using only the vivid, single piece of information.

What can advisers in the field of international education do with this research? One suggestion is to keep these findings in mind when preparing informational materials for foreign students or for any type of international sojourners. A series of *stories* that illustrate what can happen to sojourners will be more effective than the descriptive essays on various facets on life-in-the-host-country/university that are now so common. The emphasis on stories is one reason why the culture assimilator technique (Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis, 1971; Triandis, 1977) is well known. Instead of listing issues that sojourners face, the culture assimilator technique can illustrate each issue with a story that is relevant and interesting to readers.

For instance, a very common issue faced by foreign students studying in the United States is understanding the nature of constructive (sometimes vigorous) criticism that is offered by professors and friends. Students from many countries are not accustomed to the fact that friends who take the same course can criticize each other in class and be very friendly outside of class. Such students come from cultures (e.g., many in Asia, the Mideast, and the Pacific) in which the roles of critic and friend are quite distinct: friends don't criticize, at least in a setting where others can hear. Foreign students in the United States, then, are sometimes deeply hurt when someone who is considered a friend, in a seminar setting, criticizes their contributions.

This fact could be communicated in a short essay like the one in the paragraph immediately above, or it could be communicated in a story like this one from a culture assimilator (originally written to prepare Americans to interact with Arabs: Foa and Chemers, 1967).

Haluk, an Arab exchange student, was working on a class project with several American students. At a meeting of the project staff, the Arab student was asked to give his suggestions concerning the way the project should be carried out. Immediately after he finished talking, Jim, one of the American associates, raised his hand and said in a clear voice that he disagreed with Haluk's proposals. Then he pointed out a number of specific difficulties that Haluk's approach would incur for the project as a whole and its staff. After the meeting, Haluk told Jim and another student on the project that he would not be able to go to the movies with them as they had planned because he had just remembered he had to get a book out of the library to prepare for a class the next day. When the two boys expressed disappointment and suggested that they could go the next evening, Haluk politely told them that he had already had another appointment for the next evening.

People who use the culture assimilator then read four alternative explanations of the story, the correct one being:

Haluk is denied status by Jim in the work system. Haluk transfers this denial to the leisure system, in terms of affect, i.e., Haluk feels: "If Jim denies me status at work, this means he also denies me affect, so I must not give affect (go to the movies) to him." The American, Jim, differentiates more than his Arab friend between work and leisure, so for him the relationship between denial of status in work and denial of affect in leisure is not as strong as for Haluk (Foa and Chemers).

Since people very often think in terms of scripts, they are likely to learn a great deal if they are presented information in a manner similar to their own scripts. Another way to use this research is for advisers to point out these tendencies to the international sojourners with whom they interact. The advisers might recommend that foreign students should consciously seek out a great deal of information before making a decision and that the students should not rely on the first piece of vivid input that is found. This is especially important in the case of foreign students. Such visitors are not accustomed to the culture in which they are temporarily living, and so much will be "different" or "vivid" that is not necessarily "important" or "relevant." Similarly, advisers can point out that foreign students should avoid making lasting generalizations from one or two early colorful encounters with people from the host country. Foreign students, in the early part of their sojourn, are especially sensitive to interactions with host nationals.

Role learning vs. reflection

The tendency to think in terms of images and scripts is probably universal. Several other learning styles are common among people in some but not all cultures. The important point is that these latter styles clash with the methods of instruction foreign students encounter in American universities.

In many cultures, children in school learn material by rote which they memorize with little concern for its meaning. If they later have the opportunity to go abroad for higher education, however, they are at a disadvantage if professors expect students to *reflect upon and interpret material* rather than simply to repeat back the material on tests.

In some cultures, knowledge is considered as open and shared. Students learn ideas but do not necessarily learn (nor are they expected to learn) the names of people who developed the ideas. Likewise, in their term papers, students quote liberally from the work of others. In American universities, however, such quotation without citation is considered plagiarism, the accusation of which can lead to severe and embarrassing disciplinary action. This situation represents a good example of a practice that is natural and unquestioned in one culture but which is severely criticized in another.

Another issue is that students in some cultures have to be very deferent to authority in order to be successful in school. Students learn by accepting the teacher's word as final: questioning a fact presented by a teacher is unthinkable. If these students come to the United States, however, they are shocked to hear teachers challenged and are dismayed upon learning that they are expected to participate in give-and-take with teachers. Further, the tradition of deference does not prepare students to develop original ideas since past learning was based on accepting what others had to say. Especially at the advanced undergraduate and graduate level, American professors complain that it is hard to encourage some foreign students to develop original concepts for senior theses and dissertations.

Advisers might incorporate presentation on these potential conflict between learning styles in the orientation programs for incoming students. Encouraging recent research (Cole and Scribner, 1974) indicates that people are adaptable in their learning styles. Even though they are most comfortable with a particular style (e.g., rote, deference to authority), they can learn according to others. This does not mean that there will be an easy transition: guidance from advisers will always be valuable. In addition, advisers have some control over the context or the situations in which learning takes place. Attention to context can maximize the probability that students will take advantage of the learning opportunities that are presented to them.

Maximizing probability of learning

Everyone involved in education realizes that learning, as well as satisfaction with a learning experience, is dependent upon various personal, social and organizational factors. A treatment of "learning styles," then, must take into account the mix of people's behavior with the very influential social context in which the behavior takes place. Learning styles are dependent upon the context in which people find themselves.

For instance, people learn more when they feel that their efforts are appreciated by their co-workers, friends and family members; and when the organization in which they work encourages and rewards the

efforts invested in learning new material. Factors such as these have been investigated in relation to the learning that takes place among foreign nationals studying in a country other than their own. A good example is the work of Kelman (with Steinitz, 1963; Kelman and Ezekiel, 1970) who carefully analyzed the experiences of a multinational group of communication specialists who paticipated in an advanced seminar in the Untied States. Using current terms to designate this type of sojourn, the group was composed of adult technical specialists, well-established in their home countries, who were participants in an advanced training program. The findings, however, can be easily generalized to other types of overseas sojourners in various educational programs.

Kelman and his colleagues found seven factors which led to feelings of satisfaction with the educational program.

1. *Relevance of the experience to the participant's specific professional concerns.* The adviser to overseas sojourners could take steps to ensure that participants communicate their background, concerns, goals and needs. Often, this step demands the skills of an experienced person since sojourners are sometimes extremely bashful about expressing themselves, especially if they have to communicate in their second or third language. Experience shows that sojourners want to feel individualized, not as part of a mass. An easy, inexpensive, and workable way of doing this is to encourage them to talk about themselves, as suggested above. Such an effort on the part of the adviser pays great dividends, since the practice give the sojourner status (point 6, following), and it begins the beneficial practice of encouraging personal contributions (point 3, following).

2. *The opportunity for colleague-like relationships with counterparts in the host country.* As part of the efforts to prepare for the arrival of sojourners, advisers can often make arrangements for contacts between the visitors and potential colleagues. In a university setting, the colleagues might be American students who have spent time abroad, or faculty members who have studied in another country. These people could be contacted and asked whether or not they would be willing to spend time with the sojourners. Often, colleague-like relationships will emerge from such meetings.

There are many students and faculty on most campuses who would spend a good deal of time with sojourners, but they must be asked. People generally prefer to be asked to help out on an important task and consider it a compliment. On the other hand, the social stigma associated with walking into the advisers's office and volunteering is just strong enough to keep them away. I recommend that advisers obtain lists of students and faculty who have had overseas experience, and contact them personally, one by one. This will be a more personal and ef-

fective approach than the mimeographed questionnaire-and-expression-of-interest method that seems common on many campuses. The "yes" rate may be 50 per cent, but from 10 calls, there are now 5 people helping out. Another benefit of this personal approach is that the activities of the international education office will become more visible on college campuses.

3. *The participants' opportunities to make personal contributions; and organization of the program according to their desires.* If participants want to make contributions, they should be encouraged to do so. For foreign students who enjoy contributing, advisers might be able to recommend certain seminars or courses in which the professor encourages input from all participants. Other sojourners may want to contribute to other aspects of the program, such as its social life or its behind-the-scenes administration (e.g., scheduling space, transportation, etc.). Some programs allow sojourners to participate fully in the planning of certain segments, and this could be another arena for the expression of individual needs. In the type of discussion recommended under point 1, advisers can discover how (and if) the sojourner wants to contribute. It should be remembered that some participants will want to have "personal" input in terms of their contribution to a group with which they feel closely identified. Such a style of "contribution through a group" is common in Japan, for instance (Cathcart and Cathcart, 1976).

4. *The availability to sojourners of choices in activities and arrangements, and opportunities to match choices with interests.* The number of choices available to sojourners in a large university setting is rarely a problem, although relevance to their home situation often is (Giorgis and Helms, 1978). In other programs, planners and advisers may want to create various options so that sojourners can pick and choose among the possibilities to best meet their needs. Note that the general theme behind several of these recommendations is that sojourners will be most satisfied if they can personalize their program and if they can be perceived as unique people by relevant others.

5. *The participants' opportunities for informal social contact with host nationals.* This recommendation is especially important during the early days of a program before sojourners have had time to establish their own social networks. Arrangements do not have to be elaborate; very simply coffee hours are appreciated by sojourners. Program planners and advisers, who have well-established social relations with large numbers of people, can easily forget that sojourners may not have much to do after the formal program ends each day. Loneliness and boredom can then affect participants' learning the following morning when the formal program starts again. If planners and advisers ask themselves, "Do participants have enough to do after the program ends each day, and on weekends?" they will have a good start toward including participants' social needs in the planning of a program.

6. *Enhancement of the participants' national and personal status.* If the preceding recommendations are taken into account, the issue of sojourners' feelings of status should not become a problem. Many people can face a loss-of-status when living in another country. For instance, "college student" is a very high status role in some countries, but it is not in the United States. Sad to say, many Americans are uncomfortable with people from other countries, and so they do not give very much attention to the visitors. The sojourners understandably interpret such behavior as insulting and status reducing.

Further, many people view themselves as representatives of their country when travelling abroad, and so derogatory references to one's country are taken as personal affronts. If program planners build in opportunities for people to participate actively, and for people to report on the positive contributions of developments in their countries (relevant to the program), feelings of status should be enhanced. One final recommendation, based on my personal experience, regards the negative aspects in these countries. Much can be learned from case studies of failure, corruption, poor organization, and so forth, but examples of these should be put forward by people from the country in which the problem took place. If participants are secure with their status, their presentations of negative cases will cause no threat. Such material will be more profitably analyzed at later, rather than early, stages of a program since participants are more likely to be comfortable with their status at the later stages.

Conclusions

There are large numbers of people who can assist the sojourners in achieving the primary goal almost all of them have: to master complex ideas and to increase skills. Advisers can use the principle of learning through images in preparing orientation materials and in encouraging sojourners to go beyond early images in making decisions. Faculty members can keep in mind the possible interferences stemming from sojourners' experiences with other learning styles. Advisers, faculty members, and other supporters can strive to arrange the situations sojourners face to maximize the probability of learning. A possible result of such cooperation, in addition to learning, is the development of long-lasting relations between sojourners and host country citizens. These links among people, and the positive feelings developed through cooperation, are important for the joint solution of problems facing today's interdependent world.

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Part III
Case Studies

Case studies are a means of relating general ideas to specific situations. In Part III there are two case studies having to do with intercultural learning situations. The first is "Learning cross-culturally: the case study of management," by Robert Moran, of the American Graduate School of International Management. Moran addresses the question of how managers and persons from one culture learn from managers from other cultures. He contrasts a dominance approach to a "cultural synergy" approach, by which elements from two (or more) cultures are combined to develop a new way of thinking about problems or organizing work. These ideas are most immediately relevant for students who are studying management in another culture, but the general idea of cultural synergy can be generalized much beyond that.

The second case study is "Foreign students as teachers: lessons from the program in learning with foreign students," by Josef Mestenhauser. The case study summarizes a novel project which was designed to help U.S. students learn from foreign students, and then describes several lessons and questions that have been derived from the experience.

8. Learning cross-culturally: the case study of management

Robert T. Moran

The purpose of this essay is to suggest a new approach to business exchanges. Although the focus is primarily directed to foreign and U.S. business people, these ideas are equally applicable to business school faculty who are designing international courses in all fields of business administration. U.S. and foreign students who interact on a regular basis, and foreign student advisers who facilitate various international programs for both groups of students, might also find this approach appealing. The concepts are based principally on Moran and Harris (1979).

It is assumed here that U.S. management techniques and business practices are not universally accepted in other business systems (U.S. management techniques are based on American values and assumptions—at least they do not buy the whole package). It also is assumed that these techniques may not even be the best for U.S. organizations. And it is assumed that the management techniques of most other cultures are not well known or accepted as possible models for incorporation in U.S. business practices.

Changing climate for multinationals

During the past several decades,there has been a rapid growth of multinational corporations and international business organizations in many parts of the world. After World War II, when the economies of many nations were in shambles, U.S. technology and capital were readily accepted in most areas of the world. However, national pride in many nations, world-wide recession from which we have not fully recovered, and other complex political and economic factors have reduced the enthusiasm with which U.S. business and economic initiatives have been received. Regardless of this changing climate, multinational corporations still wield tremendous power.

Barnett and Muller (1974) tell us "the managers of the world's corporate giants proclaim their faith that where conquest has failed, business can succeed." They also point out that the source of extraordinary power of these businessmen comes not "from the barrel of a gun but from control of creating wealth on a worldwide scale." They continue:

> In the process of developing a new world, the managers of firms like, GM, IBM, Pepsi Co., GE, Pfizer, Shell, Volkswagen, Ex-

xon and a few hundred others are making daily business decisions which have more impact than those of most sovereign governments where people live; what work, if any, they will do; what they will eat, drink and wear; what sorts of knowledge schools and universities will encourage; and what kinds of society their children will inherit.

Necessary skills

Business people from all countries are now required to meet, socialize and negotiate regularly with foreign business representatives and government officials. These activities require that they be able to communicate and work with people who have been socialized in different cultures. Customs, values, lifestyles, beliefs, management practices and most other important aspects of their personal and professional lives are therefore different.

Business people from most countries have also learned that there are many problems when working or living in a foreign country. Communication across cultural boundaries is difficult. Differences in customs, behavior and value result in problems that can be managed only through effective intercultural communication and interaction. Persons of dissimilar backgrounds usually require a longer period of time than those of the same culture to become familiar with each other, to be willing to speak openly, to share common ideas and to understand one another. Even people with apparently similar backgrounds (e.g., U.S. and British students or business people) have difficulty because they have high expectations and do not expect problems because of a similarity in language and culture (Tucker, 1974).

The literature on and the personnel files of multinational corporations, international organizations and government agencies are replete with examples of intercultural communication misunderstandings.

The rate at which foreigners return prematurely from assignments in some countries in the Middle East is about 50 per cent. Even though persons living overseas (students or business people) may complete their assignment or degree, there is serious question as to how effective they were in their organization and how much they learned that was relevant to their back-home situation and their potential leadership or managerial responsibility (Tucker, 1974).

Some intercultural misunderstandings are not serious, while others result in organizational and personal tragedies. The individuals affected include company presidents, ambassadors, technicians and managers, spouses and tourists. The most frequent cause of serious problems is souring of interpersonal work or social relations with the host nationals—not because of personality factors but due to ineffective communication and misreadings in verbal and non-verbal communication.

In the past, many business people as well as foreign and U.S. students were not overly concerned with the ways that culture influenced individual or organizational behavior. However, because of serious and costly errors, many people working in multi-cultural environments and now asking themselves questions such as:

—What do I have to know about the social and business customs of country X?
—What skills do I need to be effective as a negotiator or a student in country Y?
—What prejudices and stereotypes do I have about the people in country Z?
—How will these influence my interaction and my ability to learn?

Cultural differences in management: examples from Japan

Almost everything that is written in the management literature and in materials provided or written by educational exchange practitioners is *comparative*. Some compare managerial processes and interdepartmental relations in the United States and Germany, while others may compare career paths of Japanese and American managers. Materials for foreign students compare social customs and practices. While these country-by-country comparative studies are useful, increasing world *pluralism and interdependence* require that we study *interactions* between managers and other people from more than one country.

Managers generally agree that improved individual and organizational performance is the purpose of most organizational change. One strategy of such organizational change that has not been consistently employed in the United States is studying the total management systems and processes in other cultures to see what can be learned from them. Many U.S. managers do not feel that there is a need to do this. After all, they ask, hasn't the United States developed the most highly sophisticated system of management in the world? And don't the managers of the best foreign companies come to U.S. business schools for MBA and executive management courses? While these statements may be true, U.S. managers can still learn from others.

> In Japan, for example, comparative studies of workers' and managers' job satisfaction indicate that there is lower absenteeism, higher productivity and greater job satisfaction there (Fortune, November 1977).

Let us now look at some basic differences between management and business practices in Japan and in the United States.

In Japan, a basic objective of the organization is *harmony*. There is a system of *lifetime employment*, and an employee is promoted through the *seniority system*. The organization is interested in *growth and market share*. It

is characterized as *humanistic* and *paternalistic*. Its employees are *loyal* and their *private life is intertwined with the company*. Training is *performance-oriented*. This management system is changing somewhat as an apparent result of association with U.S. organizations, but it continues to reflect the characteristics listed here (Drucker, 1971).

In the United States, on the other hand, a basic objective of the organization is to maximize *efficiency and profits*. There is a high degree of *job mobility* and promotion is based on *merit*. The organization is *profit-oriented*. It is characterized as *materialistic* and *individualistic*. Its employees are interested in *themselves* and their private life is *separate*. Training is *promotion-oriented*. This system, like the Japanese one, can and does change.

These are but a few of the many comparisons that could be made between Japanese and U.S. management practices and techniques. What happens when representatives of these two systems interact? The common supposition has been that one or the other system will prevail, that is, that the Japanese approach will be used by all parties, or that the U.S. one will. An alternative approach, explored in the next part of this essay, is what can be called the "synergistic approach."

A new approach: synergy between the U.S. and Japanese systems

The approach to business exchanges suggested here is called "synergy." Synergy means taking elements from two or more separate things or places and combining them in ways that produce a new approach that is more effective than either of the two original approaches. In order to reach culturally synergistic solutions in management, an analysis of similarities and differences between the management systems of the two cultures is needed. However, instead of deciding at the time of the analysis which part of which system should be used (e.g., asking, "Should we follow the American system of hiring or should we use the Japanese system of long-term employment?"), the organization attempts to create a solution or system based on aspects of both cultures. This is not simply a mixing of the two systems but a fusion of both, so that the result is a new system in its own right. This approach requires a profound understanding of both cultures in order to produce integrative solutions so that the needs and aspirations of the individuals and the organization can be met to the maximum degree possible. The workability of this approach has already been demonstrated by the Japanese-managed American companies in the U.S. and the Japanese companies in Japan which are modifying their management systems as a function of interactions with American managers. The results for the Japanese-managed U.S. companies on the West Coast include greater productivity and job satisfaction resulting from greater and more meaningful personal interaction among supervisors, managers, and subor-

dinates. The same approach can be applied to U.S.foreign student interactions and to designing and teaching management courses in business schools.

In a search for aspects of another culture's system that might be utilized by an international context, the following steps are suggested:

1. Identify the problem(e.g., the decision-making process is quick in U.S. organization but slow in implementation, or the learning process in many foreign nations is more by pictures or images than by abstract concepts).

2. Identify the areas in which the problem is detrimental to the individual or the organization (e.g., the implementation phase of a decision in many U.S. organizations is time-consuming; many foreign nationals have difficulty with essay examinations which require analysis and integration).

3. Identify the aspects of another culture's system which might be useful if implemented (e.g., the discussion phase of the decision-making process in Japanese organizations is slower but involves all persons affected by a decision. The implementation phase is therefore much smoother and less time consuming. Use images and stories to illustrate concepts in classes involving U.S. and foreign students.)

4. Determine a strategy for implementing the new approach.

5. Set up an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process to determine learning outcomes and the personal and organizational results of the new approach.

Conclusion

There are two basic ways to approach cross-cultural interactions. One is utilizing a cultural dominance model, in which one cultural system dominates the other. In the past, the U.S. business practices, management systems, and educational philosophies followed this approach. An alternative strategy is called cultural synergy. In the short-term, the synergic model may be costly and may require new training and understanding of two or more cultures. In the long run such a system may not only be in line with new international trends, but may also be more effective and practical.

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9. Foreign students as teachers: lessons from the program in learning with foreign students

Josef A. Mestenhauser

This chapter will discuss an aspect of cross-cultural learning that has received more lip service than real attention, namely, culture learning in the classroom. Despite the fact that one of the basic underlying rationales of international student interchanges always has been to provide students with opportunities to share ideas, knowledge and experiences with members of other cultures, such sharing takes place only infrequently. Some of the more powerful social psychological reasons why there is more thought than action in this area will become apparent to the reader upon examination of a few selected situations from a program designed to reverse the usual direction of learning in U.S. classrooms and place foreign students in the position of educating Americans.

Background

"Learning with Foreign Students" is the name of a project begun at the University of Minnesota in 1975. Experience so far indicates that it has an explosive potential in educating not only the U.S. students who were its original targets, but also faculty, foreign student advisers, and foreign students themselves. A few words about each of these groups are in order.

U.S. students are increasingly consumer-oriented and, in comparison with college students in 21 other countries, are significantly less knowledgeable in international affairs and politics (Walker, 1975).

U.S. faculty members, under increasing pressure from such factors as disciplinary specialization, decreasing enrollments, increased public scrutiny of higher education and the need to teach more varied student populations, need to gain new cross-cultural skills and learning insights. Skills in teaching to students with varying cultural backgrounds are needed by faculty in the social sciences as well as the hard sciences, technology and business.

The "new" foreign students, coming either from the oil rich or the very poor countries, bring with them new and different attitudes of cultural arrogance, the desire to see a new economic order in the world, and negative attitudes toward U.S. policy, if not towards the American people themselves. Some of the attitudes and behaviors of the "new" foreign students (concerning, e.g., arguments in the classroom, courting of women, habits of intellectual inquiry, spending of money, ignor-

ing lines at registration time, ghettoism in the dormitories) add to the generally deteriorating international atmosphere here and abroad. In some cases strong biases against certain nationality groups have developed on the part of the students, faculty and administrators. This atmosphere negatively affects the education of foreign students. Their increasing isolation has an impact similar to that described in theories about the effect of social deprivation on cognition. There can be a variety of such effects, including boredom, loss of concentration, susceptibility to propaganda, lack of intellectual stimulation (Bexton, Heron, and Scott, 1954), and fright and disorientation (Guthrie, 1975). These conditions distort cognition and learning.

Against this background, Learning with Foreign Students attempts to get foreign students into a teaching role in the classroom (Mestenhauser, 1976). Faculty are encouraged to incorporate foreign students into their instruction as resources, by such means as lectures, brief units, entire courses, joint projects, research activities and practica, and so on. American students are urged to enroll in the courses where foreign students are in an active role. Foreign students are encouraged to participate in these learning ventures, and experience shows they have done so enthusiastically, responsibly and effectively (Mestenhauser and Barsig, 1978). Their rewards have not been financial, but intrinsic increased status, and, surprisingly, new learning about Americans, about themselves, and about their fields of study.

Rather than describing the program or extolling its educational virtues, this chapter is intended to point out a few of the outcomes of a project in which foreign students become teachers. The lessons or suggestions that emerge here should have utility for people who want to involve foreign students more actively and deliberately in educational activities for Americans.

Widen your horizons and broaden your mind

Students who enroll in classes taught by foreign students, like students who travel to other countries, often comment about the broadening of their minds as a result of these experiences. Another term often used is "stretching your mind." When questioned more specifically, they are usually unable to express precise results or impact. Researchers, from the earliest ones (Taba, 1953) to contemporary ones, have the same problems. Several studies about this mind broadening are known to have been conducted, with either disappointing or at least inconclusive results. The Learning with Foreign Students project is in the same situation. Faculty members, who may reluctantly approve an experimental course of this kind, expect a high standard of evidence that learning takes place in these courses. Often the standards of evidence and proof they expected are higher than those they expect for

their own courses—ethnocentric behavior in itself (Downs, 1971). Acceptable evidence for many faculty must come in the form of standard vertical measurement of gains, e.g., evidence that students moved "from here to there" as a result of the course. Perhaps the problem is that we are measuring "lateral" thinking in DeBono's (1923) sense through the tools of the "vertical" or analytical thinking. In one case we discovered, through a relatively sophisticated study of the outcome of one of the courses, that the most significant change students recorded was in the area of gaining confidence in the ability of other people to handle their own problems. Several faculty members dismissed the importance of this learning on the ground that the purpose of higher education was to transmit information, not to change attitudes.

Prove yourself

Another example of low level ethnocentrism (Downs, 1971) was demonstrated through a participant-observer who recorded reactions of U.S. students coming to an office to register for courses. Students were shown an attention-getting poster describing an opportunity to enroll in an innovative course taught mainly by foreign students. A large number of respondents, though willing to be persuaded, nevertheless expected us to accept the responsibility for proving the value of the program to them. Downs (1972) suggested that ethnocentrism does not necessarily mean hostility toward other groups, but that it may be manifested by a low level of interest in others that renders the others, in one's own mind, virtually irrelevant.

You mean foreign students teaching us?

These seemingly hostile reactions to the idea that foreign students should teach Americans are typical examples of cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1964). Students are often afraid of confrontation and conflict, and fear that insults will be thrown from one side of the table (the foreign student side) to the other (the U.S. student side). There appears to be a fear that the encounter with foreign students will produce feelings of guilt about our affluence, if foreign students from the poor countries are present, or fear of our guilt about Vietnam, if Asian students are present. If the contacts between U.S. and foreign students materialize, the dissonance soon disappears, and the outcome proves to be an enriching experience, as "high" as the dissonance was initially. Until the actual encounter is arranged, U.S. students will often find "irrelevant" reasons to avoid the experience, e.g., we need to improve other things; will we understand them? they probably would not come anyway; etc. In recruiting foreign students to these experiences, similarly "irrelevant" reasons are given by them to explain why they do not wish to participate. As could be expected from a cross-cultural lear-

ning perspective, such experience may indeed be perceived as punishing by some foreign students. As Amir (1969) suggests will be the case, though, the pleasant and positive experiences are remembered most intensely afterwards.

How can they teach us when they ain't talking good English like us do?

In an experimental course, U.S. freshman were learning to interview foreign students. One of the units was devoted to group dynamics and leadership. Each small group met with as many as ten different students. In one of the groups, the student who was voted by the groups as possessing the most effective leadership qualities was a student who just arrived to attend an English languge program. He spoke virtually no English. The reason why his English did not matter was because he succeeded in involving the students in helping him communicate to such an extent that everybody in the group felt they learned and understood. On the other hand, in another group, a very fluent foreign student was being interviewed by a very poorly organized U.S. student. Because the foreign stuent could not understand the "hey's," "wow's," "why's" of this student, it was assumed that it must have been because the foreign student did not understand English. Other students then did not even attempt to ask questions. The evaluation indicated that U.S. students wished to interact with foreign students who speak good English (cf. Jervis, 1976).

Well, I don't understand YOU!

An American student complained that he was being taught by a student whom he did not understand. The complaint was automatically accepted by the department, and the foreign student was criticized for lack of language facility. He was urged to take remedial instruction. On careful scrutiny of this case, it appeared that the U.S. student was the only one who complained. Others were commenting favorably about the foreign student's ability to teach, and his interest in the students. A still more careful scrutiny revealed that the U.S. student did not like teaching assistantships to be granted to foreign students. He was a graduating senior and wished to apply for an assistantship himself. Foreign students posed unfair competition to him, he thought. Another interesting factor in this case was that the student often asked very difficult questions designed to embarrass the foreign teaching assistant, so that he could tell him (often in a hostile voice), I don't understand *you*, and thus make the foreign student responsible for bringing about the (mis?)understanding. The sensitive foreign student, as a result of this public confrontation, "lost face" and his ability to speak fluently, com-

prehensibly and logically, thus providing a self-fulfilling prophecy example for the critical student.

What he really means is...

Examples of cognitive distortions of the kind suggested by Nisbitt and Wilson (1977) were frequent in interactions between foreign and U.S. students. An interesting aspect of a classroom scene was the appearance in almost every situation of some student who appointed himself or herself as a "cultural broker" or middle-person interpreter. The broker would tend to make the most significant interventions when the foreign students either said something critical of the United States, or appeared to challenge some basic American value. The intervention would attempt to reinterpret the foreign student so that the outcome would be non-treatenting: "What he really means is...." These explanations were distorted and appeared to be designed to soften the impact of potential confrontation and avoid conflict and dissonance.

U.S. students took over the class

There are frequent examples of situations in which one group of either U.S. or foreign students appears to dominate the class discussion. In these situations one group is expected to adjust to the pattern of communication of the other. In theory, the style of communication could be a synthesis of the two styles (as Moran suggested in the essay preceding this one), or either one might dominate. Our experience did not produce an example of a synthesis. Perhaps it is necesary, especially in bicultual relations, to communicate on the terms of only one of the two groups (Barnlund, 1974).

Foreign students are biased and emotional

A common objection to the idea of inviting foreign students to the classroom is that foreign students are not objective and rational, as U.S. faculty and students assume themselves to be. There are several assumptions implicit in this view. First, there is the assumption that it is more comprehensible when *we* explain other people to ourselves. It was not only the faculty who held this view. In several instances, the U.S. students never checked out of the library the books and literature which foreign students had laboriously imported from their home countries to provide important materials not normally available in this country (Farnham-Diggory, 1972). Secondly, the foreign students have not always accepted prevailing interpretations of events and conditions, and have argued dogmatically with instructors and students. These differing interpretations of the same events often provide good examples of attribution theory (Triandis, 1975), which holds that different people attribute different motives to others, and therefore have differing inter-

pretations of the others' behavior. Thirdly, the factor most inhibiting to an expanded program of learning with foreign students is Americans' preconception about the proper role of foreign students in our higher educational institutions. Foreign students are assumed to be here to learn from us, not the other way around. Basically, foreign students are viewed as "non-conformists" on U.S. campuses. They are not given much priority by most colleges. Often they test our system as its "irritants." In Learning with Foreign Students, however, the politically weak, numerically insignificant, economically poor and culturally different group of foreign students are attempting to influence the majority.

Earning the right to be different

Foreign students can be viewed as nonconformists, given that they generally differ from their U.S. counterparts in a variety of ways. There is pressure on them to "adjust," i.e., to conform to U.S. ways. Foreign students may not want to "adjust" as much as they are pressured to do, but may want to retain some of their accustomed views and habits. Literature in social psychology suggests that there are a variety of ways of non-conforming (Asch, 1971; Cartright, 1971; Festinger, 1971; Hollander, 1971, 1974; Kelman, 1971; and Schachter, 1971). Several suggestions are advanced on how a minority (or non-conformists) can obtain the acceptance of the majority group. There is agreement in the literature that license not to conform is granted by the majority group, and it is granted as a result of some "credit" which the minority group has earned. Hollander (1971) suggests that this credit may have to be earned through prior conformity. It is suggested here that the Learning with Foreign Students is a program which is designed to earn "credit" for foreign students, so they can be allowed not to conform. Responses of many U.S. students who have participated in the program indicate that they are willing to grant foreign students a great deal of latitude to be different.

Another way of looking at this is through the three processes of influence that Kelman (1971) suggests. One of them is influence through compliance, based on power; another is through identification, based on personal attractiveness; and the third is through internalization, based on competence. The assumption of the Learning with Foreign Students program is that foreign students can gain influence on the basis of competence. So far the results clearly justify the efforts spent in pursuing this goal. However, it should be understood that acceptance is potentially also gained through power, as the Iranian students recently demonstrated, or through personal attractiveness, as we witness often when local community people and U.S. students refer to foreign students as "lovely people," important in their countries, so grateful, etc. In many instances foreign students may continue to be "minorities" even after they return home, and may thus continue to be

interested in the conditions under which a majority group is prepared to accept the idiosyncrasies of the minority. Thus, Learning with Foreign Students may provide foreign students with insight into their own future social situations.

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CONCLUSION

The literature in the field of intercultural communication draws on many disciplines, including anthropology, psychology, sociology, social psychology, education, and linguistics. Many works of fiction and autobiography have also contributed to current knowledge about and understanding of the impact of intercultural experience on an individual. The bibliographies in this book attest to the range of sources of ideas about intercultural communication, especially as applied to participants in international educational interchange.

Still, much remains to be done. Better answers are needed for such fundamental questions as these: What learning objectives can best be realized through intercultural educational activity? How can prospective participants in such activity best be screened so that those who are not likely to benefit from it, or even to be harmed by it, can be identified? What approaches to orientation and training are dependably the most effective?

These and other questions raise ethical or philosophical issues that are not treated in this book. The fact that those issues are not treated here does not mean they are unworthy of consideration. On the contrary, they should receive frequent consideration from those who seek to apply ideas from this book to their daily work with participants in international education. Whose objectives are being sought in international educational interchange? When do efforts to "facilitate" or "help" become intrusive? To what ends can increasing knowledge of human behavior legitimately be put to use? Keeping questions of this type in mind can help practitioners in international educational interchange remain appropriately respectful of other people's values and ideas.

Notes on contributors

ARIS A. ALEXANDER is a professor of psychiatry at the University of Wisconsin Medical School in Madison.

GARY ALTHEN is a foreign student adviser at the University of Iowa in Iowa City.

HUSSAIN BASHEY is an assistant professor in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Washington in Seattle.

RICHARD BRISLIN is a research associate with the Culture Learning Institute at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.

CLIFFORD CLARKE is director of the Stanford Institute for Applied Intercultural Communication at Stanford, California.

PEGGY DAVIES is a staff associate at the Center for Policy Development in Washington, D.C.

FRAIDA DUBIN is on the faculty of the American Language Institute of the University of Southern California in Los Angeles.

STEPHEN DUNNETT is the director of the Intensive English Language Institute at the State University of New York in Buffalo.

JOHN FIEG, now a graduate student at the East-West Center, was formerly on the staff of the Washington International Center.

STEPHEN FOUST is a program manager for the Experiment in International Living in Brattleboro, Vermont.

DAVID HORNER is assistant director of admissions at Washington State University in Pullman.

JOLENE KOESTER, a graduate student at the University of Minnesota, was previously on the staff of the International Study and Travel Center at Minnesota.

FELIPE KORZENNY is an assistant professor in the Department of Communication at Michigan State University in East Lansing.

AMY LEZBERG is an assistant professor of English and English as a Second Language at the University of Massachusetts in Boston.

JOSEF MESTENHAUSER is a professor and director of the International Student Adviser's Office at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

ROBERT MORAN is an associate professor and director of International Studies at the American Graduate School of International-Management in Glendale, Arizona.

ALEXANDER PATICO is a cross-cultural training coordinator with the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research in Washington, D.C.

DENNIS PETERSON is assistant director of the Office of International Educational Services at Iowa State University in Ames

MARGARET PUSCH is president of the Intercultural Press Inc., in LaGrange Park, Illinois.

GEORGE RENWICK is vice president of Intercultural Network, Inc., in LaGrange Park.

CAROL SALTZMAN is an associate dean in the Office of International Students and Scholars at the University of California-Los Angeles.

LAWRENCE SARBAUGH is assistant dean of the College of Communication Arts and Science at Michigan State University in East Lansing.

KAY VANDERSLUIS is a senior student personnel worker in the International Student Adviser's Office at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

LARRY WENDINGER is a program development specialist with AFS International/Intercultural Programs in New York.